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**NAVAL
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MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**LABOR MARKET INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN
FRANCE, GERMANY, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM**

by

Pablo F. Diaz

March 2010

Thesis Co-Advisors:

Scott Siegel
Zachary Shore

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**LABOR MARKET INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN FRANCE,
GERMANY, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES
(EUROPE AND EURASIA)**

from the

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ABSTRACT

This study compares labor market integration policies for immigrants in three countries—France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The dependent variable is labor market integration. The independent variables are language acquisition, category of immigrants, levels integration policy and institutional racism. These four factors should indicate levels of labor market integration of immigrants within a state. Also, they all share one feature in that they emphasize language proficiency in their approaches. How they differ is marginal due to the results. Despite the emphasis on language acquisition and proficiency, each country still has a poor record of labor market integration of immigrants. By not adopting pro-immigrant integration policy, Europeans will repeat the same mistakes as other countries did in the past, such as the United States, who encountered immigration at a much earlier date and still to this date, struggle to integrate. By adopting social policies that enhance labor market integration, each country can alleviate potential cultural clashes and serve as the ultimate example of liberty and credibility. The key is to show immigrants that there is no limit to their advance and upwards mobility and integration is possible.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CNEF	Centre National d'Etudes et de Formation
CPE	Contrat Première Embauche
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
INSEE	National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies
ISED	International Standard Classification of Education
MP	Member of Parliament
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONI	Office National d'Immigration
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UTEQ	Territorial Units of Neighborhoods

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

What are the determinants of labor market integration in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom for non-native workers?

B. IMPORTANCE

European immigration has steadily increased in the past decade, attracting millions of non EU27 immigrants. The vast majority (over half) have relocated to three EU27 states in 2006: Germany, the United Kingdom, and Spain (approximately 2,031,707).¹ From 2002 to 2006 immigration increased by nearly 25 percent.² Immigration has created a myriad of problems pertaining to integration in European states. States are left with an enormous population each of them having a distinct cultural background and a majority unable to speak the host nation's language. EU states measure success by looking at certain indicators to prove policies of integration are working. What are these indicators to immigrant success in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom? If immigrant success is measured by employment and upwards mobility in the labor market, the question that remains is what determines this success? The answer is several factors determine labor market integration. These factors are language acquisition, historical immigration trends, category of immigrant, immigration policy, integration policy and institutional racism. French labor market integration is highly dependent on state integration and immigration policy. Germany's problem in the labor market is highly dependent on two factors: its historical relationship with immigrants and language acquisition. Germany has done well with ethnic German immigrants, but immigrants from outside the EU have faced difficulties adjusting to life in Germany. The policy of using temporary guest workers that brought in millions of

¹ Anne Herm, *Population and Social Conditions: Recent Migration Trends* (Brussels: Eurostat, Statistics in Focus, 28 October 2008) 9.

² Herm, *Population and Social Conditions*, 2.

mostly Turkish immigrants into Germany created many immigrants on the periphery of the German state. In the UK, their historical past dealings with immigration allowed for early language acquisition before entering the labor market; however, most of their problems that have manifested since, are from cultural and social barriers. The UK's main problem with immigrant integration is institutional racism. Furthermore, the UK now has one of the most restrictive immigrant polices in Europe and select only immigrants that can contribute to the labor market. One aspect of UK policy is its insistence that all immigrant workers who enter the work force are fluent in the English language. It also uses education and specific skill sets as discriminating factors in deciding who enters the work force. All three European countries have determined language fluency as being a paramount facilitator to successful entry into the labor market with cultural and civic education as additional catalysts.

The determinants of migration in general, are a desire for an improved socioeconomic outcome. Although various non-labor market forces do exist (e.g., asylum seekers), for the most part, it is financially motivated. Other reasons to consider are groups seeking a better social, cultural and societal position; this would be a distinct improvement over their current situation. The main belief by many migration experts is that international migration of immigrants is the redistribution of labor; therefore it is the law of supply and demand of labor that determines immigration patterns. In Europe, negative internal population growth has lead to the market seeking outside labor pools to meet the demands of labor. Although states prefer to employ the native population, their inability to close that gap of labor demand, especially at the non-skilled, entry level, has led to European states to seek workers elsewhere. Prosperous European states are left with “no choice but to resort to foreign labor...declaring their desire to close their borders may tomorrow be obliged to continue their economic development through immigration.”³ Traditionally, migrants fill entry level positions with relatively low wages; for the unconditional guest worker, the stay is short and the welcome is limited.

³ Graziella Caselli, “International Migration in the 20th Century: The Case of the Western Countries,” *Demography: Analysis and Synthesis* (2006): 289.

Countries that have adopted restrictive entry policies have been able to set standards that only allow for certain types of immigrants based on labor market needs.

What determines integration? The most visible aspect of integration is for migrants to successfully move into the labor market and their subsequent offspring to succeed economically and to lessen obstacles for future generations. Greater opportunities for upwards mobility across several generations exist when immigrants succeed in the labor market. Statistically, immigrants throughout the world struggle to change their fortune. Relatively speaking, they do manage to increase their wealth simply through immigration, but compared to the average income of the host European citizen, success for the migrant is marginal. Only after subsequent generations do we see any economic improvement. But what exactly facilitates success for immigrants and their offspring in the labor market? The most prominent explanation is intergenerational transmission of language. Studies have shown that “parental endowment may affect transmission to the next generation: language capital.”⁴ In terms of labor market integration, the more language proficient the immigrant, the better the language skills of the next generation, resulting in a better chance for upwards mobility. The study by Casey and Dustmann concluded “poor language knowledge of immigrants may affect fluency of second generation immigrants, and that poor fluency may in turn adversely affect labor market performance of second generation immigrants.”⁵ The challenges that immigrants face are not solely based on language proficiency or finding a job that pays well. Immigrants face a wealth of obstacles such as racism, cultural, and religious differences that could be detrimental to their economic success. The important thing to remember is that immigration policy is an investment towards the future; the more emphasis placed on integration, the more successful citizen immigrants can become. This report will show that the progress in immigrant integration in the labor market is related to 6 various factors, language acquisition, historical immigration trends, category of immigrant, immigration policy, integration policy, and institutional racism. These factors

⁴ Teresa Casey and Christian Dustmann, “Intergenerational Transmission of Language Capital and Economic Outcome,” *Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration* (2008): 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

are the most important of all indicators and correlate to labor market integration of immigrant in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom.

C. PROBLEMS AND HYPOTHESES

This study compares labor market integration policies for immigrants in three countries—France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The dependent variable is labor market integration. The independent variables are language acquisition, category of immigrants, levels integration policy and institutional racism. These four factors should indicate levels of labor market integration of immigrants within a state. Also, they all share one feature in that they emphasize language proficiency in their approaches. How they differ is marginal due to the results. Despite the emphasis on language acquisition and proficiency, each country still has a poor record of labor market integration of immigrants. Integration has been slow and tedious with limited upwards mobility for immigrants in society, especially immigrants from Africa and Asia. One segment of the labor market in all three countries that could possibly represent an image of overall integration is the police forces. In all three countries, the national police and other police agencies will be the first face any immigrant will see as an extension of law and order within society. This is important because immigrants can gauge the level of acceptance within the country just by looking at the makeup of the police force. As the police should be a proportional representation of society, immigrants can deduct or construe how much of an effort the state is making to sponsor integration. Additionally, good police provide assistance when in need, and if one of those police officers shares the same background and language, communication between the officer and immigrant is enhanced. Immigrants are more likely to reciprocate cooperation resulting in better relations based on mutual trust. Examining the national police force of these countries should indicate and serve as a gauge for levels of integration within France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. After examining all the evidence, the answer to labor market integration should be based on governmental policy to ensure every citizen or immigrant aspiring for citizenship.

D. LITERATURE REVIEW

For France, a major piece done by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) titled *Jobs for Immigrants*, states that access to the labor market is dependent on several variables. Most significant research on immigration in France is based on the *Formation Qualification Professionnelle (FQP) Survey Insee, Paris*, conducted in 2003. A paper, based on the FQP survey, written by several authors concluded that integration within the labor market is mixed. Results from this survey has led to several authors identifying that entry into France's labor market is discriminatory at the entry level especially towards less educated African immigrants.⁶ The challenge is to find a way to measure discrimination and take into account the importance in preference when hiring. France has officially abstained from measuring any way of monitoring ethnicity. Unofficial surveys and estimates fail to capture the true nature of discriminatory practices within the labor market. However, based on tests conducted in other countries similar to France, we can assume that minor form of labor market discrimination exists. However, it is difficult to prove that preferential hiring methods based on individual preference to hire likeminded applicants occur. Other authors take into account France's history with immigrants and correlate its growing integration question with the change in demographics of incoming immigrants. Specifically, pre-World War II immigrants from Italy and Belgium composed 6.5 percent of the local populace, creating a need for integration policy. Despite the need, French legacy of true immigrant integration never really developed; most of these immigrants were not much more different than the average French citizens. They were all Europeans, mostly Catholic, and to some degree, the same color of skin, which made integration at the time easier. Later, postwar reconstruction required more immigrants to fill the vacuum created by war, creating opportunity for millions of immigrants from Africa and Asia.⁷ Authors charge that this change in immigrant population has led to France's high level of

⁶ Romain Aeberhardt et al. *Wages and Employment of French Workers with African Origins* (Paris: Springer, 2009), 1.

⁷ OECD, *Jobs for Immigrants Volume II: Labor Market Integration in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal* (Paris: OECD Publications, 2008), 114.

immigrant unemployment and racial discrimination based on country of origin.⁸ One paper attributes the difficulty in obtaining recognition of immigrant integration due to France's vision of egalitarian beliefs and values. This belief of France first, has formed a large amount of criticism targeting France's motto of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*. The criticism is based on a large population of French citizens of African origin who remain jobless at a rate of over 33 percent.⁹ Advocates for reform use the Paris riots of 2005 as the reason why France must change its policies. According to several studies most of these episodes of rebellion were caused by frustrated children of immigrants who were protesting high unemployment, poverty and closed networks, giving them little hope that they may have any kind of upwards mobility. Subsequently, France's resistance to change has led to a growing pay gap between native born and subsequent generations of immigrants. Roxane Silberman and Richard Alba write that France's poor record of integration is actually segmented assimilation. Under segmented assimilation, immigrants of African or Arab origins (non-white immigrants) are less likely to be successful in the labor market compared other immigrants, mainly those who are white.¹⁰ Silberman and Alba also conclude that discrimination is rampant at the entry level despite educational level attainment. Finally, papers published recently outline the need for change in policy and the adoption of France's Immigration and Integration Law of 2006 following the same lines as the UK's selective immigration policy.

In Germany, the experience was much different. A massive mobilization of labor to rebuild post war Germany created a vacuum. Thomas Liebig writes that German immigrants came as guest workers from various countries, specifically Turkey, creating a cultural resonance that has festered into a larger problem.¹¹ Essentially, Germany's inability to address the conundrum of its immigrant question postponed any significant

⁸ Aeberhardt et al., *Wages*, 3.

⁹ OECD, *Jobs*, 114–115.

¹⁰ Roxane Silberman and Richard Alba, "Segmented Assimilation in France?: Discrimination in the Labor Market Against the Second Generation" *Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Hilton San Francisco & Renaissance Parc 55 Hotel, San Francisco, CA*, 14 August 2004, <http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p110914_index.html>.

¹¹ Thomas Liebig, "The Labor Market Integration of Germany," *OECD Publication* (2007): 14.

progress with integration. Irena Krogan attributes Germany's lack of integration by stating, "Immigrants with low vocational education, except those coming from EU countries after 1975 and the second-generation immigrants, have almost zero chance to enter white-collar employment and much lower probability to pursue self-employment activities."¹² Don Devoetz writes that the gap between natives and foreign-born immigrants has forced Germany to move quickly in toward an effective integration policy. Government analysis on ways to improve integration and adopting measures recommended by the OECD has led Germany to implement its National Integration Plan, a plan heavily dependent on learning the German language. Germany had never required language as a necessity to enter the labor market until January 2002, making it "a prerequisite for naturalization."¹³ Germany and France's integration policies both share a dilemma that integration policies in both countries fail to address—institutionalized racism. It is important to understand that institutionalized racism has many definitions, depending on history, location, religion, and many other factors. The importance of this claim is that institutional racism can either be inherent in an institution through governmental policy, or it can develop as a legacy of identity formation and enacted by the individual. It is a system where different individuals are denied the same opportunities that maybe one group may have preference within that system. Policies adopted by a state that be a function of cultural and ethnic identity and may or may not use nationalism as the basis for its legality. Therefore, racism is a function of the institution, sanctioned through policy or government inaction.¹⁴

As is the case for France, the United Kingdom's immigrant question is largely a derivative of its early exposure to incoming immigrants dating back to its colonial period. The difference is the UK had a longer time to promote its language within their colonies combined with its legacy of making colonials British subjects. Only when encountering a large Asian influx after its colonial period did they adopt restrictive measures permitting

¹² Liebig, *Labor Market*, 18.

¹³ Don J. DeVoretz et al. "How Much Language is Enough? Some Immigrant Language Lessons from Canada and Germany," *IZA DP No. 555* (August 2002): 21.

¹⁴ Nora Ratzel, *Europe's New Racism: Causes, Manifestation, and Solutions* (Antwerp: Berghahn Books, 2002), 27–28.

immigrants into the UK. These measures essentially cut off the flow of immigration to only “selected immigrants.” Ken Clark and Joanne Lindley write that the UK has encountered similar issues with immigrant integration as France and Germany, however, they conclude that immigrants in the UK fare much better in terms of employment, compared to their native counterparts initially. The data changes only after examining subsequent generations resulting in “[subsequent generations of] non-white immigrants having a larger unemployment rate than white immigrants and natives.”¹⁵ Once again, Clark and Lindley attribute to this fact as an extension of the UK’s restrictive immigration policy based on a point scale that inhibits migrant laborer and is permissive to educated immigrants. According to the UK Labor Force Survey, four categories emerge that distinguish between those who arrive in the UK to enter the labor market versus those who enter the UK to take advantage of its education system: (Type I) white labor market entrants, (Type II) non-white labor market entrants, (Type III) white educated entrants, and (TYPE IV), non-white educated entrants. Some authors attribute policy success to English spoken in the UK’s former colonies because it was the natural language used in order to conduct administrative functions and duties. Blackaby writes that inherent cultural built racism is present in the United Kingdom and that it prevents unilateral equality. His explanation is based on the theory that the UK is institutionally racist, and suffers from prevalent of “unequal opportunities” within the labor market. The most significant barriers that native born migrants may face that deter progression and upwards mobility are discrimination based on religion, skin color, and culture where “whites do not wish to be in a subservient position to non-whites.”¹⁶ Anthony Heath and Sin Yi Chueng write that unless the UK adopts more aggressive anti-discrimination policies, racism in the labor market will continue to persist. Their recommendation to overcome labor market discrimination and to flatten out these barriers is “to extend the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 to the private sector and to strengthen and monitor the working of the Act in the public sector with a more rigorous scheme of ethnic

¹⁵ Ken Clark and Joanne Lindley, “Immigrant Labor Market Assimilation and Arrival Effects: Evidence from the UK Labor Force Survey,” *IZA Discussion Paper* (2006): 11.

¹⁶ D.H. Blackaby, et al. *White/Ethnic Minority and Employment Differentials in Britain: Evidence from the LFS* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 25.

minority monitoring, enforcement procedures, and evaluation.”¹⁷ Without looking at the data, similar immigration policies are not focused on discrimination.

By examining these three large European countries’ historical experience with immigration and their subsequent integration policy, a better understanding on how to approach integration can be deducted. The segment I feel that is a good representational “snapshot” of integration is the level of integration within the three countries police force. Despite incremental progress, greater strides must be made toward successfully integrating immigrants into the labor market to take into account entrenched and institutionalized racism. By using the police force sample within a country, This report can show that the progress in immigrant integration in the labor market are related to established procedures to ensure progress in certain sectors within the work force of a state. Using the police force should be a good representative example of how state policy can determine labor market integration because it serves as an example of state preference and unbiased hiring methods.

E. METHODS AND SOURCES

My sources are scholarly articles, official government documents, and statistics by France, Germany, and the UK. Additionally, I will use publications and statistics derived from the OECD and various studies examining labor market integration of immigrant. Most of the information is through scholarly articles. I have found several authors who examine integration of immigrants into the labor market in all three countries. I plan to use a method of comparison between three countries and to conduct a comparative analysis. First, I will look at historical trends of their immigration and how each country struggled to find solutions. All three countries have problems in integrating. Is it because of discrimination in the labor market? Second, I will look at the policies developed to address higher levels of integration. Third, I will examine the importance of language and how it determines success in the labor market. Next, I will look at a specific portion of the labor market: national police forces. Finally, I will look at how

¹⁷ Anthony Heath and Sin Yi Chueng, *Ethnic Penalties in the Labor Market: Employers and Discrimination* (Norwich: Crown, 2006), 12.

each country has adopted measures in attempts to integrate immigrants within the labor market and conclude by making recommendations on possible improvements. Additionally, I hope to show that one country is more successful at integrating than the other two by examining their police force; a conclusion can be drawn that one country may have better results than the other two. My thesis will be organized first by examining the historical aspect of immigration, followed by language and current immigration policy in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Then I will examine one portion of the labor market to capture which of these countries is making progress in integration, if any, followed by my recommendations and conclusion.

F. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

After looking through all the data, all three countries have different levels of labor market integration, but one country clearly comes out on top. The source of the data is composed from census material accumulated in 2000 and from various surveys conducted from 1998 to 2002 by the OECD. Although no immigrant population secured better employment rates compared to native born, the UK had the best difference between native and immigrant employment rate at 2.9 percent. France is second with a difference of 7.6 percent. Germany finished last with 9.5 percent. Additionally, the UK leads in education attainment of immigrants with a rate of 54.1 percent. France is second with 32.5 percent, while German immigrants attained a degree at a rate of 23.4 percent. Many factors contribute to the educational levels of immigrants in the UK. The most notable source is the UK's restrictive immigration policy, permitting only what the labor market needs, educated applicants. The results also correlate that the more education and language acquisition you have, the better chance you have for success within the labor market. Nonetheless, the UK has made remarkable strides in ensuring that almost all legal immigrants are in a position to succeed in the labor market. When looking at the education data, educational attainment is defined by International Standard Classification

of Education (ISCED) by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and is recognized as the international standard for educational recognition and achievement.¹⁸

	Population Employed	Population Unemployed	Education level attainment: ISCED 5/6	Total Percentage of unemployment/education
France: Foreign Born	2 497 768	606 111	1 011 424	19.5/32.5
Germany: Foreign Born	4 153 531	854 317	1 172 126	17.1/23.4
United Kingdom: Foreign Born	2 327 923	209 508	1 374 407	8.3/54.1
France: Native Born	20 638 421	2 795 136	7 160 516	11.9/30.5
Germany: Native Born	29 541 275	2 459 825	9 899 321	7.6/30.9
United Kingdom: Native Born	24 247 778	1 400 219	7 232 104	5.4/28.1

Table 1. Comparison of immigrant and native population in employment, unemployment, and education attainment rate from 1998 to 2002 (From OECD statistics, Labor Force Status)

These results indicate that education plays an extremely important role in determining immigrant success in the labor market. However, it does not isolate why, too many factors and certain social aspects in society contribute to labor market integration overall. Furthermore, in each of the countries examined, a range of studies have determined that the most prominent influential social aspect is the labor market is institutional racism. In all three labor markets, various forms of institutional racism exist within each sector and manipulate employment statistics to varying degrees. The problem is manifested both in the private sector and within the public. It then becomes important to examine the role of institutional racism and the effect it has on immigrants in each state. Why does institutional racism matter and how does it prevent integration?

¹⁸United Nations, *United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Standard Classification of Education ISCED 1997* (New York: UNESCO, 1997), Preface.

It matters because it prevents individuals from attaining jobs and economic upwards mobility. In the labor market, institutional racist behavior is manifested through several forms. The definition is broadly explained as the practice of discrimination inside a private or public institution and can be committed by individuals who act alone or on by non-hierarchical intervention when committed by individuals within a given organization. More European centric definitions clearly identify key persistent factors of institutional racism. In the aftermath of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry in the UK, the Macpherson Report defines institutional racism as:

The collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their color, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behavior which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.¹⁹

A further broadening of the definition of institutional racism and its effect on immigrant employment became a major focal point for the EU. In 2000, the EU passed a directive that established a framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation by defining the concept of discrimination as:

The proposal for a directive aims to combat both direct discrimination (differential treatment based on a specific characteristic) and indirect discrimination (any provision, criterion or practice which is neutral on its face but is liable to adversely affect one or more specific individuals or incite discrimination). Harassment, which creates a hostile environment, is deemed to be discrimination. Reasonable arrangements must be made to guarantee the principle of equal treatment for disabled persons, limiting it to cases which do not involve unjustified difficulties.²⁰

¹⁹ Macpherson Report, Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, 24 February 1999, 8 March 2010, Chapter 46.25 Paragraph 6.34, <<http://www.archive.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm42/4262/sli-46.htm>>.

²⁰ EU Directive 2000/78/EC, Establish a General Framework for Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation, <http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/disability_and_old_age/c10823_en.htm>.

The challenge that exists within these institutions is to overcome adversity through assimilation and for public officials to enforce rules and regulations that minimize racist attitudes. When an organization fails to adhere or recognize established standards codified in the legal code, the effectiveness of the rule of law is lessened and a new lower standard of inequality is adopted.²¹ That is why an examination of public servants within the government is important and contributes to the identification of institutional racism within a country. In a democracy, police forces are indispensably a direct reflection of society and its norms and ideals. If a state has a high degree of racist sentiment, it can be transposed on the police force's minority composition and through its direct interaction with a given immigrant community. Moreover, through governmental policy, the state can serve as an example on the positive aspect of integration to the private sector, allowing for stereotypes and racist behavior to be minimized in one aspect of civil society. If the police forces of these countries are able to unequivocally end racist behavior, the social implications will reverberate throughout an area. The police can serve as a pillar of trust within a community, instead of becoming an extension of repression. Police officers can serve as role models to underprivileged youth. Positive role models play an important role in identity formation, helping troubled youth make the right decisions instead of making bad decisions, resulting in a life of poverty. That is why identifying institutional racism and examining its importance of integration within the police force are pivotal factors in trying to explain the determinants of immigrant labor market integration.

²¹ David C. Green et al. *Institutional Racism in the Police? Fact or Fiction* (London: Institute for the Study of Civil Society), 12–14.

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II. FRANCE

A. EARLY IMMIGRATION

What are the determinants of labor market integration in France for non-native workers and subsequent generations? Does France achieve higher levels of labor market integration for immigrants through a cohesive assimilation and integration strategy? For France, determinants of labor market integration are highly dependent on state integration and immigration policy. These factors indicate uneven integration of immigrants in the labor market that has resulted in less economic opportunity for ethnic minorities. Despite the recent efforts to promote integration of immigrants, France still has a poor record of labor market performance towards immigrants and their offspring. The historical pattern of immigration in France stemmed from a huge reconstruction work force needed in the aftermath of post war Europe. The positions were for mostly semi-skilled to low skilled jobs that required little to no education. France's integration model of equality was poorly suited for the mass influx of immigrants from multiple countries from within Europe who challenged the norms of French society. The addition of African immigrants created even more turmoil as France struggled to adopt resolutions that eased ethnic and social tension. To this day, France continues to integrate slowly, and tediously challenges its immigrant community to adopt the French ideal. Today, immigrants and their subsequent offspring, face limited economic upwards mobility. The importance of uneven integration is greatly related to European security. France stands to place its security in jeopardy by not making progress and adopting a forward thinking evolutionary integration policy. France's failure to evolve and restructure its commitment to its Republican ideal could lead to a world perception that the French and other European nations are inherently racist.

France's history with immigrants and its correlate problems with integration are not a new phenomenon. From a historical perspective, France's flow of immigrant traditionally stemmed from the Mediterranean region and other European countries. Today, the problem is still integration, but this time, in addition to a change in demographics, the focal point becomes the type of immigrant. Specifically, pre-World

War II immigrants from Italy and Belgium composed 6.5 percent of the local populace and created an early need for an integration policy. After World War II, France reconstructed its economy, forcing it to modernize and industrialize. Once reconstruction took foot, economic expansion became France's primary mission. This move alone created the need for a large work force equating to job vacancies. Other problems France faced after the war included a declining birth rate and France was still an enormous loss of its male population from the war, and other European countries. The flow of immigrants was categorized as three types: 1) permanent immigrants controlled by the Office National d'Immigration (ONI), 2) seasonal immigrants controlled by the ONI and 3) Algerians, not under the control of the ONI. Also factored into the equation were France's crumbling colonial holdings in Africa and the Caribbean. By creating an organization to monitor its immigrant population, France recognized the potential social problems that could come to pass without implementing immigration control measures.

B. A PATTERN OF ECONOMIC GROWTH CORRELATING WITH INCREASED IMMIGRATION

Once France's economy stagnated from 1953 to 1955, France pursued a restrictive immigration policy in an attempt to curb immigration.²² The policy subsided once the economy sustained growth and by 1960, France's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was third in the world only behind the United States and the United Kingdom.²³ Economic revival resulted in a huge demand for an even larger work force with massive movements of people into France, with most of the increases coming during the period from 1955 to 1958. Immigration steadily increased almost every year after, resulting in the genesis of France's immigration conundrum. Once the dust settled France's largest immigrant population was in place, the largest ever. These immigrants were a mostly of Italian descent and by 1956, 525,000 Italians were allowed to permanently settle France.²⁴ France's neighbor to the south, Spain, contributed roughly 277,000

²² James McDonald, "Labor Market Integration in France 1946–1965," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59 (March 1969): 118.

²³ Nation Master, "1960 GDP statistics," <http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/eco_gdp-economy-gdp&date=1960>.

²⁴ McDonald, France, 119.

immigrants.²⁵ Portugal followed with approximately 116,000 immigrants. Problematic to the equation of France's migration was the addition of immigrants from North Africa and the Caribbean. Algeria formed the core of this influx due to its historical ties with France until it gained independence in 1962.²⁶ These groups obtained jobs in fields such as construction, heavy industry, agriculture, and mining.²⁷ The point of settlement traditionally ranged in all areas, with large concentrations in and around Paris and in southern France.²⁸ Paris alone became home for many immigrants, up to 35 percent of all migrant worker located to Paris by 1964. Illegal immigration, categorized as migrants with no contract with the ONI, could not be accurately measured due to immigrant's inherently surreptitious entry into France. These immigrants later gained access when they found a job, and the ONI sanctioned their activities when the decision to stay was made. The ONI defined all legal migrant workers under the term "regularized" which was essentially permanent guest workers. Furthermore, the ONI estimated that roughly 35 percent of all regularized workers returned back to their country of origin due to a variety of factors, but mostly for finding jobs that were not satisfactory in pay and conditions.²⁹ Other factors included other European countries offering a more attractive package to immigrant settlement through pay, conditions, and treatment. Established immigrant networks, within these countries, facilitated immigrant decision making by word of mouth, allowing them to decide what country was the best solution.

Estimates by economists suggest that total immigration in France from 1945 to 1965 played an important role in France's postwar rebuilding and economic recovery. Post war recovery ignited an economic boom, caused by the need to extensively repair vast amounts of infrastructure. This economic revival created a huge need for a cheap source of labor to help with reconstruction. France had few alternatives; the pool of capable males was severely depleted after years of attrition caused by war. The immigrant labor force provided France with a low wage force to fill the gap that the war had caused. Despite the need in France, a

²⁵ McDonald, France, 120.

²⁶ "Algerian War." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 25 November 2009, 17:27 UTC. <http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Algerian_War&oldid=327891477>.

²⁷ McDonald, France, 121.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 132–133.

legacy of true immigrant integration never really developed, because most of these immigrants were not significantly different from the proto-typical French citizen. They were all Europeans, mostly Catholic, and had to some degree, the same color of skin, which made integration easier at the time. Language acquisition was important and subsequent generations of immigrants learned the language with proficiency comparable to that of a native speaker. Postwar reconstruction required more immigrants to fill the vacuum caused by war, creating an opportunity for millions of immigrants from Africa and Asia.³⁰ Many have charged that this change in immigrant population led to France's high level of immigrant unemployment and racial discrimination based on country of origin.³¹ The issue became pronounced after the economic boom, when immigrant slums known as "bidonvilles" developed in and around Paris.³² These areas were plagued by crime and violence, normally seen in underdeveloped countries associated with extreme poverty. Most of these areas developed into North African enclaves with Islam being a focal point. Uneven integration developed and non Muslim European immigrants, because of their cultural and religious similarities, integrated at a faster rate than immigrants from other continents.

The development of social exclusion began early with the influx of immigrants after France's economic boom in the 1950s. Although the labor market absorbed most immigrants with semi skilled and low skilled paying jobs, France went through stages of economic stagnation. Economic downturn lowered the economic prospects for most immigrants. The French Republic model of integration and cohesion slowly unraveled with the introduction of migrant workers who did not share the same European heritage. France's egalitarian beliefs and values are assumed to constitute a model of integration based on equal treatment for all. France officially only sees French citizens and therefore the government's stance is that ethnicity should not play a role in any way in hiring employees within the labor market. Despite this egalitarian belief, defined in the motto of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, integrating immigrants into French culture has proved difficult in practice.

³⁰ OECD, *Jobs*, 114.

³¹ Aeberhardt et al., *Wages*, 3.

³² McDonald, *France*, 134.

C. LIBERTÉ, EGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ?

The refusal to recognize ethnic differences within its population has led France to a conundrum of great proportions. France's model of integration was at its lowest point. Unfortunately, cultural and ethnic fault lines developed, creating a new case of racial and class tension. In the 1990s, major cultural differences became pronounced, and France's integration model fell into decline. The most important factor was France's declining economy. Limited opportunities in the labor market ended the chances of upwards mobility amongst ethnically different citizens and subsequent generations of immigrants. These minorities faced unprecedented unemployment levels and were target by right wing racists as the reason for France's economic decline. Political groups such as the Front National, led by an anti immigrant politician named Jean-Marie Le Pen, gained popularity and challenged the mainstream parties in the election for the presidency in 2002.³³ His party's platform is based in part, of xenophobic attitudes that normally stay dormant in the public sphere of politics. However, Le Pen was able to capture these deep feelings of anti-immigrant sentiment and forced tolerant voters to come out and vote against an opponent whose radical ideas are incongruent to the French ideal of liberty.

From 1994 to 2002, the amount of immigration increased from 119,563 immigrants annually to 205,707.³⁴ Immigration policy changed allowing for entrance and gaining legal residence status by obtaining a 1 year renewable permit. This policy allowed immigrants to work and live in France without fear of deportation. Anyone entering France with the intention of staying beyond three months must apply for approval prior to arrival. If immigrants stayed beyond three months without approval, they move into the illegal category. Additionally, not all immigrants stated as the purpose of their stay in France the objective of finding a job. Statistics show that from 1999 to 2001, immigrants listed employment 38 percent of the time as the reason for applying for residential status. The next highest explanation used was attending a

³³ "Jean-Marie Le Pen." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 29 November 2009, 23:45 UTC. <http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Jean-Marie_Le_Pen&oldid=328688404>.

³⁴ Xavier Thierry and Godfrey I. Rogers, "Recent Immigration Trends in France for a Comparison with the United Kingdom," *Population* 59 (September–October 2004): 639.

university at 27 percent, followed by family reunification at 16 percent.³⁵ New laws have changed the immigrant landscape. In 2003, a law was passed, classifying any EU resident as not needing a permit to reside or work in France. Critics of the French model stress that racism is still inherent to the system, despite the government making it unlawful to collect data in order to identify origin. In 2007, the Conseil Constitutionnel rejected stipulations within a bill passed by the French parliament that would have allowed the government to collect statistics on racial identity. This move was supposed to help identify problems within the system and target racial discrimination.³⁶

D. CONTEMPORARY IMMIGRATION IN FRANCE

Today, immigrants make up 8.1 percent of the population in 2004, an estimated 4.9 million people.³⁷ Additionally, France passed the Immigration and Integration law (Projet de Loi relatif à l'immigration et à l'intégration) in 2006 which followed the same foot path as Germany and the UK, forcing immigrants to accelerate their satisfaction of certain criteria that would facilitate integration. Key to the law passed addresses issues that categorizes legal residential entrance into France as selective immigration. With this approach, only qualified immigrants can obtain legal status. The definition as to what is qualified is dependent on certain economic conditions and their potential contribution to the French economy. This process of selective immigration favors highly skilled immigrants, foreign students, and a restrictive family reunification process. A prerequisite to legal entry and potential permanent residency is the requirement of knowing the French language. Legal entrance must be approved prior to the immigrant's

35 Thierry and Rogers, *Immigration*, 664.

36 David B. Oppenheimer, "Why France Needs to Collect on Racial Identity...In a French Way," *Essay for the Conference of Race and Diversity at the University of Paris* (June 2007): 747.

37 Christophe Bertossi, "French and British Models of Integration: Public Philosophies, Policies, and State Institutions," *ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, Working Paper No. 46*, University of Oxford (2007): 44.

arrival with a long-stay visa.³⁸ Demographically speaking, France's immigrant acceptance and net annual addition has declined to roughly 67,200 immigrants in 2008.³⁹

According to a major piece done by the OECD titled *Jobs for Immigrants*, access to the labor market is dependent on several variables. Most significant research on immigration in France is based on the *Formation Qualification Professionnelle (FQP) Survey Insee, Paris*, conducted in 2003. A paper, based on the FQP survey, written by several authors, concluded that integration within the labor market is mixed. Results from this survey have led several authors to conclude that entry into France's labor market is discriminatory, especially towards less educated African immigrants.⁴⁰ The challenge is to find a way to measure discrimination and take into account its importance in preference when hiring. Quantitatively, it is difficult to prove the use of preferential hiring methods. Notably, France has channeled most subsequent generations of immigrants to the lower echelons of the labor market. The data suggests that second and subsequent generations of immigrants entering the labor market face discriminatory hiring practices. Unemployment for immigrants is considerably greater compared to native born and second generation immigrants. A survey conducted in 1999 by the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) found that immigrants who migrated after the age of 10 had unemployment rates of 19.2 percent for men and 20.3 percent for women. The native French unemployment rate was at 10.1 percent. Second generation immigrants had unemployment rates of 20.0 percent for men and 20.6 percent for women.⁴¹ When ethnic origin is taking into account, the picture becomes clear; immigrants of African origins suffer the highest level of unemployment. Of all immigrant groups, the Portuguese and the Italians fared the best with unemployment at 9.8 percent and 10.7 percent. Surprisingly, Southeast Asians had the second best with an

³⁸ Chou Meng-Hsuan and Nicolas Baygert, "The 2006 French Immigration and Integration Law: Europeanisation or Nicolas Sarkozy's Presidential Keystone?," *Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, Working Paper No. 45, University of Oxford* (2007): 17.

³⁹ Eurostat Press Release, "Population and Social Conditions," 49/2008,
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-QA-08-049/EN/KS-QA-08-049-EN.PDF.

⁴⁰ Aeberhardt et al., Wages, 1.

⁴¹ Dominique Meurs et al. "The persistence of Intergenerational Inequalities Linked to Immigration: Labor Market Outcomes for Immigrants and Their Descendants in France." *Population* 61 (September 2006): 651.

unemployment rate of 16.0 percent. After that, the unemployment rates for African and Turkish immigrants equate to impoverishment, ranging from 24.6 percent for Turk to 29.6 percent for Algerians.⁴² The same survey discovered that second generation immigrants fared slightly better, with all groups improving in employment. Unemployment for immigrants of African origins still remained high. Algerians men once again had the worse unemployment rate with 23.3 percent. Italian and Spanish males had the lowest unemployment rate with 10.3 percent.⁴³

E. REFORM

Advocates of reform cite the Paris riots of 2005 as the reason why France must change its policies. The riots occurred in over 200 towns and resulted in mass destruction of public and private property. Grievances ranged from inadequate job opportunities to discriminatory practices against minorities by officials in the French government. The riot was primarily executed by “young male of working class or underprivileged origin and of African immigrant background...low educational level and no direct connection with political and trade union organizations.”⁴⁴ The fact is that the riots resulted because of persistent poverty along ethnic lines continued while the government conducted business as usual. Is it was a rejection of the French model of integration because intergenerational social upwards mobility was limited to certain types of immigrants. These statistics do not account for educational attainment or level of wealth when entering the country. Using these statistics, we can see that immigrants are plagued by higher rates of persistent unemployment, nearly twice that of their native French counterparts. Similar surveys conducted by Arnaud Dupray and Stéphanie Moullet Marché in 2004 discovered similar trends.⁴⁵ Roxane Silberman and

⁴² Meurs, Persistence, 652.

⁴³ Ibid., 653.

⁴⁴ Marco Oberti, “The French Model of Integration: The Theory of Cohesion and the Practice of Exclusion,” *Observatoire Sociologique Du Changement, Notes & Documents* (June 2007): 8.

⁴⁵ Meurs, Persistence, 657.

Irene Fournier in 1999 showed statistically, children of African immigrants actually had higher levels of unemployment compared to their parents.⁴⁶

Most scholarly articles also point out that certain determinants of greater unemployment point to unstable lower skilled jobs. Entry into other sectors of the labor market has been even harder to get into. Entry level manual labor jobs are the only real alternative an immigrant can find. Many factors are taken into account for this pattern, with education being pivotal point in entry into the French labor market. One avenue difficult for immigrants to obtain, based on statistics, is the civil service sector. The civil servant entrance employment exams require French citizenry and application for civil service positions must occur between their 35th through 45th birthday.⁴⁷ Once hired under a temporary fixed contract, getting to the next level of tenure, natives have an advantage over immigrants: natives are tenured at 11 percent versus immigrants at 4 percent. Females' immigrant fared better; they were tenured at 6 percent but still lagged behind their native counterparts who stayed on at a rate of 18 percent.⁴⁸ Quantifiably, second generation immigrants have favorable rates compared to their parents but still lag behind natives. Officials argue that the reason for the disparity is the lack of knowledge of the civil servant examination acquired through the natural process of cultural assimilation and schooling in the French education system.⁴⁹

F. FRENCH EDUCATION SYSTEM

The French education system is set up in part on the French egalitarian and republican principles that everyone is equal before the state. Schooling consists of three levels. Education begins at the primary level followed by the secondary, finally finishing at the 3rd level (Baccalauréat) in anticipation of university education. Upon completion of the secondary education, a French student must pass exams on the French language, mathematics, history, geography, and finally citizenship to continue to the next level. The third level focuses on France's belief in *égalité* within the education system:

⁴⁶ Meurs, *Persistence*, 657.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 664.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 664–665.

⁴⁹ Meurs, *Persistence*, 666.

secularism. France reinforces its secular policy through a natural standardization showing no preference to any religion, despite France's Catholic heritage. In 2004 all religious symbols were banned, including the Hijab, or traditional head scarves worn by Islamic women. University education is funded by the state and is affordable through its programmed subsidies, making the price a negligible amount.⁵⁰ The key for France's model of integration early success began at the education level, reinforcing the notion of equality of its citizenry. France's republican ideal in the education system clearly undercuts attempted measures by immigrants who want to maintain their cultural and language heritage and pass them on to their children. Second generation immigrants began abandoning their heritage language and integration through absorption and education were the primary determinants. Sometime after the oil crisis and the restriction of immigration into France, upwards mobility became victim to the constant and persistent state of unemployment.

G. STUDENT ACTIVISM

As a response to growing tension and student activism, the French government offered a temporary solution known as the Contrat Première Embauche (CPE), meaning the first employment contract, as an answer to some of the grievances.⁵¹ The program was designed to help lessen unemployment in poor neighborhoods by giving employers the ability to dismiss employees. The thought was that employers feared hiring minorities because of laws enacted that placed an enormous burden on the employers, making it difficult for them to dismiss non performers. This was analyzed by many experts to being a leading cause of large unemployment of minorities. Instead of addressing student grievances, governmental officials contributed to unrest by refusing to change. These students formed together in solidarity against a perceived injustice in the labor market in relation to employment applicants coming from different types of universities and "of middle or lower class origin, no specific residential or ethnic

⁵⁰ "Education in France." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 23 November 2009, 23:08 UTC. <http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Education_in_France&oldid=327559217>.

⁵¹ "First Employment Contract." *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 24 September 2009, 13:27 UTC. <http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=First_Employment_Contract&oldid=315909740>.

characteristics.”⁵² Students became polarized regarding concern that this rule may lead to even more dismissal of minorities, causing a “hold the line” mentality. In the aftermath, students blocked universities, and continued their campaign of social unrest. These episodes of rebellion were caused by frustrated children of immigrants who were protesting high unemployment, poverty and closed networks, giving them little hope that they may have any kind of upwards mobility. Those statistically proven “ethnic penalty” became the target for these protesting students.

H. THE FRENCH LABOR MARKET

France’s resistance to change has led to a growing pay gap between native born citizens and immigrants. Roxane Silberman and Richard Alba write that France’s poor record of integration is actually segmented assimilation. Under segmented assimilation, immigrants of African or Arab origins (non-white immigrants) are less likely to be successful in the labor market compared with other immigrants, mainly those who are white.⁵³ Silberman and Alba also conclude that discrimination is rampant at the entry level despite educational attainments. Quantifiably, minority groups in France face inequity in housing, healthcare services, and more importantly, opportunity in the labor market. In a survey known as the Génération 98 Survey, conducted by Céreq, respondents from Sub Sahara Africa and Vietnam perceive discrimination in the workplace due to skin color. Turkish and North African immigrants felt that their Islamic heritage was the greatest contributing factor towards discrimination.⁵⁴ Other factors that the survey measured as perceived reasons for discrimination besides skin color and religion were traditional clothing, home address, and family names. In the respondent’s perception, clothing is considered a reason for discrimination because it identifies cultural heritage. A good example is a woman’s wearing of the hijab as being Islamic and therefore an immigrant for North Africa or some other Middle East country. A home address would easily identify a job applicant’s possible upbringing. Common knowledge for Parisians is that the banlieues are predominantly Muslim neighborhoods. Studies

⁵² Oberti, Exclusion, 8.

⁵³ Silberman and Alba, Segmented.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 11.

have also discovered that a factor in perceived discrimination is a name highlighting ethnicity. In a study conducted in the United States, social scientists and researchers conducted a field experiment in which resumes were sent to jobs seeking employees. The results showed that subtle discrimination occurs well before the interview when applicants with African American names not receiving interviews despite résumés equal to or better than those of applicants with non African-American names.⁵⁵ The field study suggests a 50 percent difference in hiring preference when employers considered ethnically related names. The study concludes that “non African American names need to send about 10 resumes to get one callback whereas applicants with African American names need to send about 15 resumes.”⁵⁶ The study also discovered that an applicant’s address in a known wealthy neighborhood helped the non African American applicant’s chance in landing an interview.⁵⁷ These types of studies have been conducted across Europe, but none has been published using French employers.

The results to uneven integration in France have resulted in theory, extreme unemployment for immigrants and their subsequent offspring. Official unemployment data by the government is not kept, but most experts estimate the job prospect for immigrants has been hovering at a rate of over 33 percent.⁵⁸ Not included in this estimation are the Afro-Caribbean ethnic minority in France who suffer high rates of unemployment as well. For immigrants in France, the obvious way to employment is through education and going through the naturalization process. Obtaining citizenship increases the likelihood of employment, yet problems still exist. France’s model of integration is more likely to create resonance; therefore its integration policy is important in preventing further exclusion.

⁵⁵ Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan, “Are Emily and Greg More Employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination,” *University of Chicago School of Business* (June 2004) 1–2.

⁵⁶ Bertrand and Mullainathan, Experiment, 3.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 3–4.

⁵⁸ OECD, *Jobs*, 114–115.

I. FRENCH NATIONAL POLICE

One segment of the labor market in France that could possibly represent an image of overall integration is the police force. At best, police relations between immigrants, have been tedious. The national police will be the first face any immigrant will see as an extension of law and order within society. This is important because immigrants can gauge their level of acceptance within the country just by looking at the makeup of the police force. As the police should be a proportional representation of society, immigrants can deduce or construe how much of an effort the state is making to sponsor integration. Additionally, good police provide assistance to those in need; if one of those police officers shares the same background and language, communication between the officer and the immigrant is enhanced. Immigrants are more likely to reciprocate cooperation, resulting in better relations based on mutual trust. With that stated, France recognized the need the increase cooperation between its police forces and growing relentless immigration population in 1983 when the Centre National d'Etudes et de Formation (CNEF) established the Nation Training Charter.⁵⁹ In the charter, a key stated objective is to foster better relationships between police officer and the public through the analysis of “social factors.”⁶⁰ Other programs followed. Training programs that focused on youth, poverty, and immigration were introduced starting in 1991.⁶¹ Most concentrated on sensitive subject matters such as exclusion and integration in regards to immigration. These measures were implemented due to a growing rift between police officers and immigrant French youth in the banlieues. Police officers at the time were viewed by these youth groups as excessively rough with their police tactics, and a centralized perception that immigrants were the focus of targeted racism. Strained police relationships with immigrants have led French leaders to examine the notion of the French ideal. Years of perceived discriminatory practices targeting minorities created hostilities in which challenges were made by both groups. Youth reciprocate harsh treatment through random questioning by acting out forcefully against the police. The police respond in

⁵⁹ M. Bertrand Main et al., *Police Training Concerning Migrants and Ethnic Relations: Practical Guidelines* (Strasburg: Council of Europe, 1993), 65.

⁶⁰ M. Bertrand Main, Police, 65.

⁶¹ Ibid., 67–68.

kind to avoid the perception that they will back off. Combined with the fact that most of these police officers were of different background, the perception became that police were openly discriminatory against minority youths. Confrontational backlash occurs when both sides escalate their continued disrespect for the other side and often ends in injuries and fatalities. The perception of police demonstrating cultural insensitivity and discriminatory practices is reinforced if the police officer in question is cleared of any wrong doing during the police action.⁶² French police function as an extension of the state to maintain law and order. Their main objective is to eliminate criminal activity even if the disproportionate numbers of a certain type of individual are the consequences. Unfortunately, the problem of deepening poverty from perpetual unemployment is a fact of life in France and should not be an excuse to participate in criminal activity. In a review conducted by the National Police, titled “La Cité Interdite?” “(The Forbidden City?),” high ranking police officials conclude that ethnic and religious factors are increasing the use of violence while promoting Islamic radicalization.⁶³ These neighborhoods have developed extensive networks and sympathy among France’s most economically disenfranchised population, circumventing law, while promoting criminal activities through the informal establishment of radical Islamic ideology. The worst case scenario for French police is that radical Muslim clerics may eagerly promote inequality as the fuel to recruit for jihadist activity in France and around the world. It’s a pattern that has developed in Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Through policy, the French government has recognized that change is needed to stem the tide of criminal activity brought on by high levels of unemployment. The National Police has become the intermediary between governmental policy and a growing disenfranchised immigrant population. Programs have been established at the entry level to lessen stereotypes and inherent cultural biased norms. French police training is long and extensive, exposing trainees to real life situations from the onset. This is where early exposure to ethnic criminal activity reinforces stereotypes and

⁶² Renée Zauberma and René Lévy, “Police, Minority, and the French Ideal,” *Criminology* 4 (November 2003): 10.

⁶³ Zauberma and Lévy, Police, 10–11.

perceptions about certain ethnic groups. In a study conducted in 2001, regarding arrest statistics of that year, aliens (immigrant) were accused of criminal activity while making up approximately 5.6 percent of the population. The study used the statistics to correlate that criminal activity leads to over exposure of a segment of the population, allowing certain perceptions to become institutionalized in the police force. The police also must enforce French immigration rules and must detect who is legal and who is illegal. In doing so, they often find themselves trying to distinguish between the two, creating the ethical dilemma: does the individual police officer use “racial profiling” to accomplish his mission?⁶⁴

The police force is a measuring stick used by the public in which they perceive discrimination. To solve this, these politicians had to examine the actual purpose of the police force in relation to equality before the state. Some of the questions brought up were how does the government make an effort to provide equal representation within the makeup of police force and how will it use demographical representation of a community within the force? Does the government institutionalize preferred hiring practice to overcome solidified perception that may allow discrimination toward the ethnic minority? France struggles to answer these questions because any meaningful change may be “hindered by an abstract conception of citizenship that rejects any reference to a person's affiliation with a community other than the Nation.”⁶⁵

In a report conducted by the Council of Europe in 1988, the council recommended:

to ensure, consequently, that, in those departments of the police force responsible for juveniles, there are enough police officers having specialist training focused on the cultural values and standards of behavior of the various ethnic groups with which they come into contact, including if possible police officers coming from a migrant background, and that all these officers may if necessary have recourse to interpreters.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Zauberman and Lévy, Police, 12–13.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁶ Council of Europe: Council of Ministers, Of the Committee of Ministers, “To Member States on Social Reactions to Juvenile Delinquency Among Young People Coming From Migrant Families,” *416th Meeting of the Ministers’ Deputies*, 18 April 1988.

Others within France's law enforcement agencies have argued to take this a step further and that a multicultural community should be proportionally represented at the law enforcement level. These few individuals advocated a forced process of integration through an intense recruitment process targeting immigrants and their subsequent generational offspring to break the pattern of inequality. No official European policy has been adopted for the EU. Each state has the ability to determine how much proportional representation their populace needs, if any. But France has made an effort to make changes and abide by these recommendations. France must also overcome the issue of recruiting qualified personnel into the force equivalent with to the people they swear to protect. In order to succeed at creating a more equitable working environment, institutionalized racism must be minimized, cultural sensitivity training implemented, and issues of tolerance at the individual level must be accepted. Leaders at every level must also enforce rules that prohibit racial biased behavior and bigoted attitudes. The police must also ensure that an ethnically diverse force is based on merit at the same time, to overcome natural attrition, begin an active campaign of recruitment. Law enforcement must also attempt not to become so politically absorbed in attempting the proportionate numbers, the only way to solve this is through the recruitment process. France's highly evolved centralization of the police force allows them to recruit, train, and employ the police without regard to local preference. Critics argue that this system may in fact hamper efforts to specialize in regions. Proponents counter that this mechanism allows for a more rounded police force, universally aware of the complexity of France's population.⁶⁷

J. FORCED INTEGRATION IN NATIONAL POLICE

In 1997, France turned a corner, developing the concept of community policing. The policy became to be known as "police de proximité," was an extension of passed laws in 1995 calling for co-production of security. This program emphasized community awareness and sensitivity towards the ethnically diverse neighborhoods. The law was repealed and replaced by the Territorial Units of Neighborhoods (UTEQ) in 2003, which

⁶⁷ Zauberman and Lévy, Police, 19.

works in the same manner as community policing stressing “prevention, proximity, and cooperation.”⁶⁸ All these small measures in making the police force more conducive to better relations strongly depend on the ability to attract qualified ethnic minority applicants. In France, determining the proportion of ethnic minorities exists within the highly centralized police force still proves difficult today. The central governing body within the police force recognized that diversity within the force when it announced that it will make every effort to integrate the ethnic minorities at a faster rate.⁶⁹ Gestures were initially made in January 1999 when Jean-Pierre Chevènement, at the time, the minister of the Interior, stated that it was a shame the police force “did not reflect the population sufficiently.”⁷⁰ This was followed by a statement to his prefects:

I have told you that the national police force ought to reflect the composition of the population. I am asking you to make that objective a reality, immediately, when you recruit security auxiliaries, which is your responsibility. . . there can be no question of quotas, but I do request that you diversify your recruits, so that young second-generation immigrants may find positions within the police.⁷¹

These statements were accompanied with action; a move was made shortly thereafter to aggressively recruit ethnic minorities. Most changes were made in the deputy officer positions, which are entrance auxiliary police positions. Social scientists need substantiated data in order to prove their theses that forced ethnic integration of the police force actually facilitates overall integration within the labor market. The perception of discrimination fades when large numbers of immigrants and subsequent generations are integrated into the police force and serves as an example: equality at the highest level of the state.

⁶⁸ “Community Policing in France.” Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. 22 July 2009, 16:56 UTC. <http://fr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Police_de_proximit%C3%A9_en_France&oldid=43191690>.

⁶⁹ Zauberman and Lévy, Police, 24.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 24.

⁷¹ Ibid., 24.

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III. GERMANY

A. WAR RAVAGED ECONOMY

Germany's total immigrant population for 2006 was 558, 500. Of that total, 57 percent were from EU 27 nations, approximately 318,345 immigrants. 43 percent of their immigrants were from non EU27 states, approximately 240,155 immigrants. Historically, German immigrants came as guest workers from various countries.⁷² The reason was simple, reconstruction in Germany after World War II required an incredible amount of workers. Most of these immigrants were from countries that had a surplus of young working age males. Germany made treaties with these countries in order to stimulate the entry of guest workers.⁷³ The guest worker program was originally designed to fill these labor shortages, a majority from Mediterranean countries, but the program lacked any foresight to integration. The problem that was identified and caught German officials off guard was the decision of guest workers who decided to bring families to Germany. Additionally, immigrant families began to have children born in Germany but because of German citizenship rules, were not German. The status of guest worker was a temporary solution by the German government and never was intended for immigrants to take up permanent residence. After the government stopped the guest worker program, these workers "would have been denied re-entry into Germany after leaving the country. Therefore, many decided to stay for good and raise their families...the result was a further increase in the percentage of foreign residents."⁷⁴ Officials had no solutions on how to prevent the inflow of immigrants. The oil shock of 1973 forced the government to end the program as result of immigrant backlash and declining economic opportunity for native Germans. From this point on, German officials began a protection policy of allowing immigrants into their country. After the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and reunification, a large shift occurred, creating a

⁷² Liebig, Germany, 14.

⁷³ Ibid., 14.

⁷⁴ Don J. DeVoretz et al. "How Much Language is Enough? Some Immigrant Language Lessons from Canada and Germany," *IZA DP 555* (August 2002): 28.

new generation of ethnic German and Eastern European immigrants which today is the largest immigrant group in Germany. These events created a temporary spike in the annual immigration rate, however the spike was temporary and the current trend of decreased immigration has continued. Industry and economy experts have requested a relaxation of immigration policy to provide a cheap labor source to sustain productivity.⁷⁵ Government officials are hesitant to oblige and instead have adopted a pro-working mother stance by allowing the parents of newborn children to share up to 14 months of leave and up to two-thirds of their income in hopes of encouraging them to have children.⁷⁶

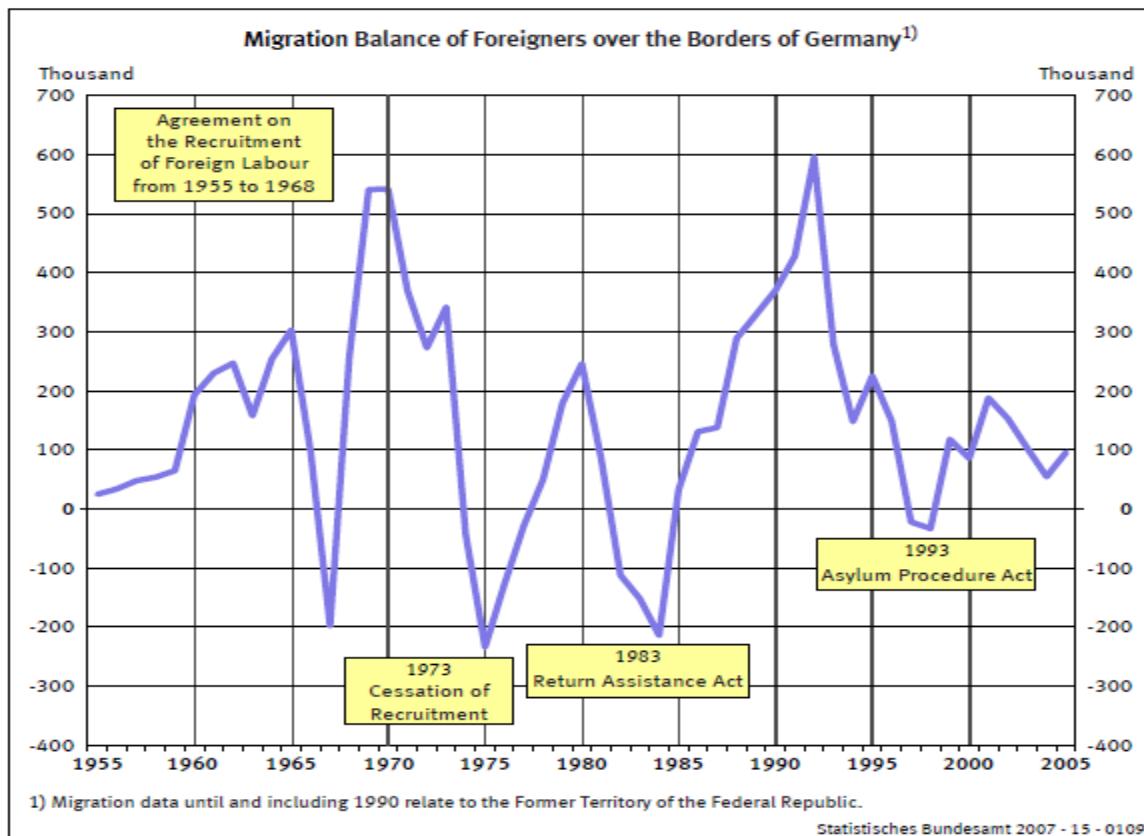


Table 2. Graphical depiction of Germany's immigration from 1955 to 2005 (From Federal Statistic Office, 44)

⁷⁵ Stephen Graham, "German Population Continues to Decline," *Washington Post*, 5 January 2007, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/01/05/AR2007010501901.html>>.

⁷⁶ Graham, Population.

B. CONTEMPORARY IMMIGRATION

Today, Germany's immigrant population has many ethnic variables. With these variables, Germany has found it difficult to apply a one size fits all immigrant integration policy. Overall, 15.6 million (combination of actual immigrant and subsequent generational offspring) of the German population had an immigrant background by 2008. In total, since 1950, nearly 19 percent of the German population was of immigrant status or descendants of immigrants.⁷⁷ Approximately 7.3 million were actual immigrants (8.9 percent of the population), and 8.3 million were subsequent offspring from foreigners (10.1 percent of the population). Since 2008 the actual immigrant population decreased to 6.73 million (with Turkish immigrants seeing a decrease with just over 25,000). The German Federal Statistic Office officially attributes most of the decrease to immigrants gaining citizenship through the naturalization process.⁷⁸ The importance of the immigrant question in Germany is the impact it will have on the population in the future. The native German population is decreasing in size due to various causes. Since 1972, the German death rate has exceeded the German birth rate. Because the amount was so small, population decline was offset by the influx of immigration.⁷⁹ Statistically, the population has seen an annual decrease since 2003. Even with an increase in life expectancy by up to 7 years and the expected annual migration rate to stay close to the current levels “the number of inhabitants will drop from almost 82.5 million in 2005 to nearly 69 million in 2050.”⁸⁰ The impact of population decline on the German economy can have a possible ruinous effect. Analysis of this trend shows that as the population gets older, to ability to replace it with younger workers is dependent on a 1 for 1

⁷⁷ Press Release No.033 / 2010-01-26 , “Anteil der Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund leicht gestiegen,” “Slightly Increasing Proportion of Population with a Migrant Background,” Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, <http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Presse/pm/2010/01/PD10_033_122.templateId=renderPrint.psm1>.

⁷⁸ Press Release No. 110, “2008 Population with Turkish Passport Decreasing by 25,000” <<http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/EN/press/pr/2009/03/PE0911012521.psml>>.

⁷⁹ Federal Statistical Office, *Germany's Population by 2050: Results of the 11th Coordinated Population Project* (Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt, Federal Statistical Office, 2006), 13.

⁸⁰ Federal Statistical Office, Germany, 5.

replacement ratio. At the current rate, the median age group (ages 20–49) will decline from today's rate of 50 percent to 42 percent in 2050.⁸¹

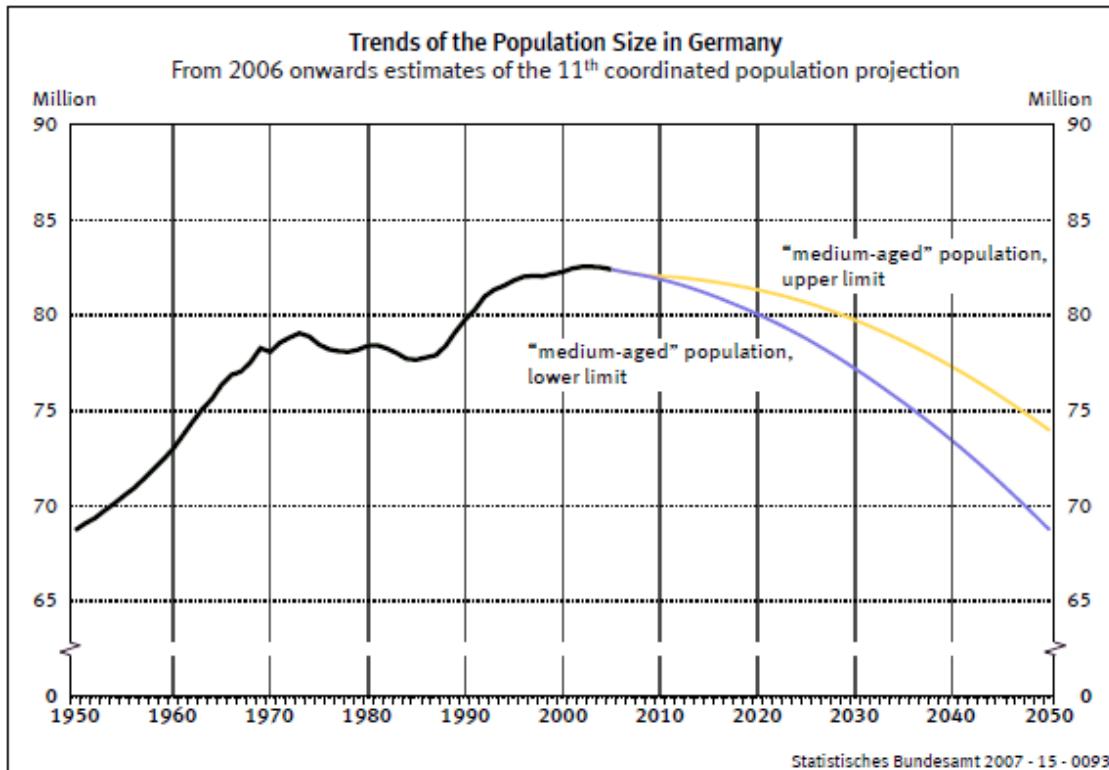


Table 3. Graphical depiction of Germany's declining birthrate (From Federal Statistic Office, 15)

The single largest group of non-European immigrants in Germany is Turkish, who account for more than 2.6 million of the approximate 7.3 million immigrants with a foreign nationality living in Germany.⁸² Most notably, the continued flow of family reunions currently account for foreign born immigrants migrating into Germany. Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees, and Integration, Maria Böhmer, believes that integration is a much more difficult task when first addressed by

⁸¹ Federal Statistical Office, Germany, 6.

⁸² Liebig, Germany, 14.

the government and states “We no longer talk about migrants, but with them.”⁸³ Hence, Germany can no longer ignore the children of guest workers and now must make a real effort to help integrate them into society. Germany, recognizing a growing block of economically disadvantaged immigrants, is left to decide how and when to change its policies.

C. GERMAN EDUCATION SYSTEM AND ITS CORRELATE TO THE LABOR MARKET

Germany’s economy, the largest and most robust within the EU, has been a sign for hope amongst immigrants that socio-economic opportunity outweighs the negative factors of living in a country that clearly has reservations towards a multicultural melting pot. Despite its resilience and its large unemployment sector, the German labor market has made little progress in terms of immigrant upward mobility. Studies have shown ethnic Germans and EU immigrants share a common path in employment; however, non ethnic German immigrants have many difficulties in obtaining equality in sectors of the labor market. Immigrants between the ages of 25 to 65 have unemployment rates twice as high as natives 12.4 percent compared to 6.6 percent for all employees in Germany. The unemployment rates of former guest workers and Turkish immigrants are much larger than other immigrants. Additionally, subsequent generational Turkish immigrants find themselves being funneled into the lower spectrum of employment and education where opportunities for upwards mobility are limited. In a study conducted in the late 1980s, statistically, second generation Turks in Germany have a greater exposure to the lower echelons of the labor market.⁸⁴ Entry into the labor market begins when schooling ends. If a student demonstrates academic proficiency, then his or her path is divergent and is ensured a fully funded university position. This is not the case of the Turkish immigrant. Studies show that nearly half of Turkish immigrant offspring are funneled into the lower echelon of learning: *Hauptschule*. In a recent study conducted and published by the Berlin Institute of for Population and Development in 2009, the institute

⁸³ Die Bundesregierung, “Arriving in a New Country Without Abandoning the Past” 12 Jul 2007, <http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2007/07/2007-07-12-nationaler-integrationsplan-beschlossen_en.html>.

⁸⁴ Thomas Faist, “States, Markets, and Immigration Minority: Second-Generation Turks in Germany and Mexican Americans in the United States in the 1980s,” *Comparative Politics* 26 (July 1994): 442.

discovered that in over 19 years since the accumulation of data relating to immigrant education levels, the level of Turkish immigrants and their descendants not finishing school rose from 24 percent to 30 percent.⁸⁵ Using its “Index for Measurement of Immigrants” the Berlin Institute’s data suggests that non-ethnic German immigrants have fewer opportunities compared to native-born Germans within the education system and labor market. The study concluded that Turks and Germans of Turkish decent are the “worst educated, worse paid, and have a higher rate of unemployment.”⁸⁶ Analyzing the problem even further seems to point out the problem of the German education system when it comes to integrating non ethnic Germans. Germany’s education system is based on 4 levels with the first level being the only common education Germans receive. This level is called Grundschule and begins after kindergarten and lasts until the 4th Grade. From there, students are placed in three tracts, dependent on test scores hinged on command of the German language and other social upbringing factors. The three tracts that students head to are Hauptschule, Realschule, and Gymnasium. Hauptschule is taught at a slower pace and leads to vocational training and lower leveled apprenticeship. Realschule is taught a faster pace leads to higher vocational school and higher apprenticeship. Gymnasium is the premier level of education and leads to an Abitur degree and eventual enrollment into Germany’s universities.⁸⁷ The problem for most Turkish immigrants lies with early comprehension relating to language and cultural understanding. Turkish immigrants in large numbers fail to display the same level of proficiency as ethnic Germans within this system, pointing to language comprehension as a major indicator for success: nearly 60 percent cannot adequately read or write by the time they reach the point where they enter Hauptschule, Realschule, or Gymnasium.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Katrin Elger et al. “Survey Shows Alarming Lack of Integration in Germany,” 26 Jan 2009, <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0.1518.603588.00.html>>.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Basic Structure of the Education System in the Federal Republic of Germany- Diagram, *Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (KMK)* January 2009, <http://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/doc/Dokumentation/Bildungswesen_en_pdfs/en-2009.pdf>.

⁸⁸ Elger et al., Survey.

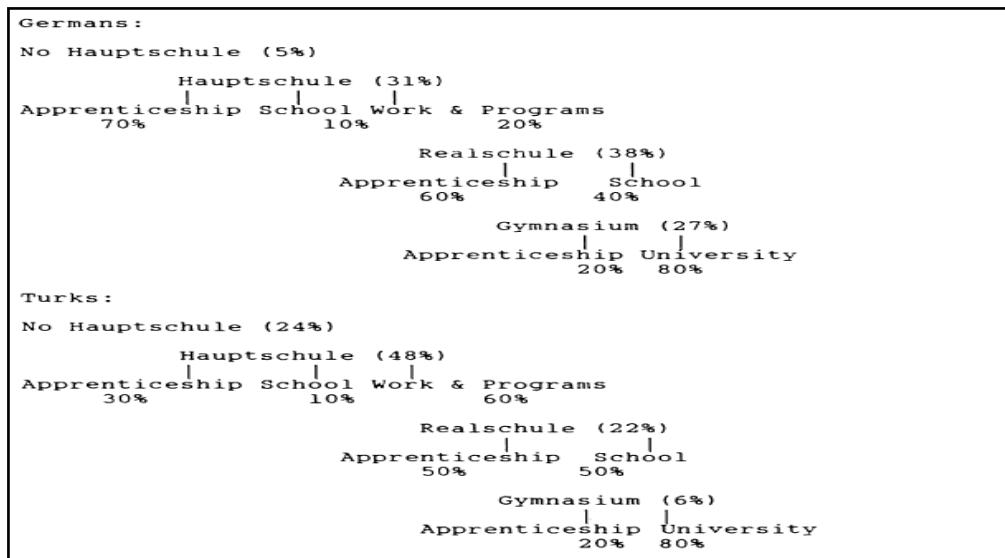


Figure 1. Estimate from statistics from the 1980s showing the results of education, 3 years after graduation (From Faist, 442)

For the immigrants and their offspring, the hope of landing a job depends on Germany's dualistic educational model that stresses training during the education process. An example used by German officials indicates that second generations are slowly making progress. From 1984 to 1990, German Turks participation in apprenticeship improved from 22.4 percent to 35.5 percent.⁸⁹ However critics argue that government policy forced many employers to increase apprenticeship programs that eventually led higher levels of unemployment. The increase was not coordinated through any job program or government stimulus creating jobs; therefore, Turks and other immigrants faced a dismal future in obtaining a high paying job. Turks made up a good portion of these blue collar apprenticeships and consequently, had higher levels of unemployment.⁹⁰ Mixed into the equation is the fact that white collar apprenticeships are dependent on higher levels of education through the tiered process of Realschule and Gymnasium. The results of more recent studies validate previous data detailing immigrant employment patterns, with the exception of ethnic Germans, immigrants hold

⁸⁹ Faist, Second-generation, 444.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 447.

longer periods of unemployment.⁹¹ When examining the types of jobs immigrants in Germany have, additional studies have shown that they tend to be over represented in lesser skilled jobs by nearly 25 percent.⁹² Even highly educated immigrants from non EU countries have difficulties in translating their education and experience into work. If they're competing with native Germans, they are forced to take lower skilled jobs or face unemployment.

Does the lack of a vocational degree hinder employment? The data suggests that for immigrants, it is paramount even more so than natives to attain one. "Immigrants with low vocational education, except those coming from EU countries after 1975 and the second-generation immigrants, have almost zero chance to enter white-collar employment and much lower probability to pursue self-employment activities."⁹³ Vocational degrees act as a bridge for migrants from unskilled labor positions to higher skilled positions, at least a slight signal of success in the German labor market. As immigrants in Germany struggle to enter the labor market at the same rate as their native counterparts, second generation immigrant have shown subtle signs of attaining economic upwards mobility, however, they still lag behind their native counterparts.

D. GERMAN LABOR MARKET

In the past, second generation immigrants show a similar trend in key labor market outcomes over the past decade to those of first generation immigrants. Recent studies have shown "that the employment pattern of second-generation immigrants converges with that of native-born Germans of the corresponding age cohort...considered as an evidence of the growing assimilation across generations."⁹⁴ Subtle signs of upwards mobility have shown that children of guest workers and other immigrants have a better chance of entering white-collar jobs through education, although not at the same levels as natives. "Taking years of schooling as a measure for educational attainment, adult persons of the second generation in Germany have, on average, almost one year less

⁹¹ Irena Krogan, "A Study of Employment Careers of Immigrant in Germany," (Manheim: Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung, 2003), 10.

⁹² Krogan, Study, 12.

⁹³ Ibid., 18.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 8.

schooling than natives of the same sex and age-group. After controlling for their parents' educational attainment, a gap remains, although it is reduced by half.⁹⁵ Despite the positive trend of labor market outcome for immigrants, they same problems that applied to the Turkish immigrant population in education apply to them in the labor market. When examining apprentices in entry-level positions intensive in manual labor, for instance, coal mining, and other less desirable jobs, immigrants, and in particular Turkish immigrants, are disproportionately overrepresented.⁹⁶ The pattern of not reaching equity compared to native born German is still a major concern for German officials. Upwards mobility is limited to a few subsequent offspring of immigrants who manage to balance education, language, religion, and cultural acceptance at the same time. They are the exception and not the rule. For the rest of the Turkish immigrants in Germany, many concerns remain on how to succeed with so many unfavorable factors. Many theories have been used to explain why second generation immigrants fail to obtain the same labor market outcome as natives. One argument asserts that key networks used by native born German friends and families are used in Germany for offspring employment once schooling is complete. These networks are highly dependent on knowing someone already established in a position of authority that enable the hiring of individuals within the network. Because Turkish immigrants are relatively new to the labor market, especially in positions of authority, they lack the ability to effect network hiring. This argument is often used by social scientists, who argue that these strongly developed networks supersede the legitimate hiring process and the vacancies that are left over are actually so few in numbers, that the competitiveness of getting them on merit is extreme. These networks are difficult to develop immigrants find themselves locked out of certain sectors of the labor market. The results are they are funneled to less desirable positions that pay significantly less.⁹⁷

Another problem added into the immigrant labor market equation is the fact that most Turks find it difficult to move out of their enclave into other communities. Generally speaking, most Turkish communities in Hamburg historically developed over

⁹⁵ Liebig, Germany, 42.

⁹⁶ Faist, Second-generation, 453.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 446.

the need for labor.⁹⁸ In the mid-90s, Berlin's construction boom became a beacon for immigrants seeking jobs, which subsequently already had a Turkish community, making it easier for new coming job seekers to establish residency. Early enclaves developed through the process of family reunification stemming from established informal networks. Other informal networks helped establish other multicultural enclaves in around Hamburg. The natural development of these networks also began to filter through the labor market. Turks successful in establishing businesses began to develop work councils sensitive to the ethnic composition of a sector within a work force; enabling minority hiring at a higher rate.⁹⁹

Additionally, immigrants face in Germany is the issue of discriminatory hiring practices. Complaints by minority immigrants of discrimination in the German labor market have traditionally been focused on Turkish immigrants. Most immigrants who openly admit they have been subject to discriminatory hiring practices believe that a majority of their perceived discrimination is based on their Islamic heritage. The counter argument from most Germans is that their views are not discriminatory in nature, but a manifestation from what seems as a lack respect to abide by host nation cultural norms and values. An example of this sentiment was clearly captured from a Berlin resident when he stated:

You think, 'Am I in Istanbul?...It's not German...when you come to a country, you should not keep all of where you came from. ... There are (children) going to school who cannot speak a word of German. This is very troubling.¹⁰⁰

Other issues remain, especially when clothing worn by women of Islamic heritage. Women applying for jobs wearing the hijab face additional scrutiny. Surveys published suggest women feel that they are discriminated upon if they wear their headscarves in public. Turkish identity is almost immediately recognized and so does the inherent mistrust and anti foreigner sentiment. Additionally, accusation that traditional Arabic

⁹⁸ Faist, Second-generation, 450.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 451–452.

¹⁰⁰ Mike Wereschagin, "Turks Face Integration Challenges in Germany," *Pittsburgh Tribune*, 24 January 2010, <http://www.pittsburghlive.com/x/pittsburghtrib/news/s_663822.html>.

names on applications are ignored or placed automatically in the do not hire stack. Accusations are difficult to prove, in the interim, at least in Germany, it is extremely difficult to gauge the extent of discrimination. Recent studies conducted have grappled with the fact that most minorities face obstacles and challenges that native or ethnic Germans don't. Others argue that discrimination in Germany is strong and is the main reason why non-ethnic Germans have difficulties obtaining the same results. Using the education argument based on "Human Capital" is highly dependent on complex variables why immigrants and their offspring fail to advance in into the labor market.

E. NATIONAL INTEGRATION PLAN

How does the German government address the issue of immigrant success in the labor market and wage disparity of immigrants? The gap between natives and foreign born immigrants has forced Germany to adopt a new National Integration Plan, a plan heavily dependent on learning the German language. Germany had never required language as a necessity to enter the labor market and it was not until January 2002, that they made it "a prerequisite for naturalization."¹⁰¹ In 2005, Germany adopted the new Immigration Act which was its first real attempt to require learning the German language. This plan is an authentic attempt to address the problem of integration. The most prominent change occurred in 2005 when the government proactively encouraged integration into German society by adopting integration courses without any recourse if immigrants did not attend. These integration courses aimed at helping foreign born immigrants with the necessary skills in order to better their economic and social position in Germany. The courses consisted of 600 hours of language training and 30 hours of cultural and social training.¹⁰² The requisite is for mandatory training for all new permanent immigrants who have demonstrated a limited proficiency in the German language, while the rest have the option to take it.

Realizing the first plan did not go far enough; Germany took a more aggressive stance on integration and toughened the requisites. In the 2007 version of the National

¹⁰¹ De Vortz, Language, 21.

¹⁰² Liebig, Germany, 28.

Integration Plan, Germany placed an extraordinary emphasis on language skills. The plan called for increasing language training to over 900 hours. Failure to meet these requirements could lead to punitive measures. The German government is convinced that the key to integration and successful entry into the labor market is dependent on learning the German language. Additionally, the government is purposely targeting Turkish immigrants in hopes they will find new opportunities in employment and close the gap between natives and other immigrants. The hope is, with education, Turkish immigrants are able to improve their financial standing, leading to integration into German society. Another aim by the plan is to directly target the language proficiency of immigrant children by increasing language training in kindergarten. The plan makes an emphasis on exposure to the German language. Children of immigrants who lack a basic understanding of the German language must go to kindergarten all day instead of half day and receive tailored language instruction. The plan also calls for limiting dropout rates of immigrant children by promoting measures to improve success at school. For the moment, the National Integration Plan makes an attempt to bridge the gap between the government and its immigrant population.

F. OPPORTUNITY WITHIN THE GERMAN POLICE FORCE

Germany's unique position in Western Europe and its reorganization of its police force stems from its status as a defeated nation after World War II. The Nazi rooted militaristic police force was thoroughly dismantled after its defeat at the hands of the Allies. Occupation in the 4 zones led to uneven adaptation of police forces, as every occupied sector soon had a similar make up of the occupying country's police force.¹⁰³ For the Allies, respect for the rule of law, democratic norms and values were instilled. Once centralization took place, the interior minister controlled the police force. However, disagreement on the structure of the police force and the way it was to be administrated became a focal point with American occupying forces. Germany finally adopted a plan closer to French forces and soon thereafter, began policing its own streets.

¹⁰³ Erika S. Fairchild, "National Culture and Police Organization in Germany and United States," *Public Administration Review* 49 (September– October 1989): 456.

The most prominent aspect of the police forces in Germany is the tradition of “Rechtsstaat,” which is defined as law based state and its accountability and its limitations according to law. The problem with the German model is the issue of accountability towards external mechanisms. The direct centralization of the police system in Germany makes it difficult for outside intervention from non police personnel. It’s a system that thrives on careerism of professional who rise through the rank from initial recruitment to eventual administrator. This aspect leaves the police forces of Germany exposed or susceptible to cronyism and abusive hiring practice that may give certain individuals an advantage during the hiring process. Civil servant hiring practices within the police forces are often shaped when prevocational school is complete and begins at the age of 16, starting with three years of training in residential police school.¹⁰⁴ In the eyes of German authorities, an extensive training regiment enhances the legitimacy of police and their tactics. Advancement is based on test results, where the higher the score, the better chance for upwards mobility. This perceived equality tends to negate the reality of social dissimilarity before the system, inherently based on different levels of educational attainment and resources available during the formative years.¹⁰⁵

Before 1980 German police forces were essentially off limits to non-Germans. Troubles began when a large undiversified, poorly trained in ethnic relations force began having troubles with enforcement in ethnic enclaves. In Berlin, police administrators recognized the issue and began a huge Turkish culture centric training program in order to facilitate relations between police and neighborhoods. The program was centered on dealing with foreigners in a “working groups “setting, in which techniques on dealing with the “Turkish mentality” led to specialized training.¹⁰⁶ Train the trainer programs further developed and eventually spread to the majority of the police force. Transition further was facilitated after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the unification of West and East Germany. At this point, German police forces were forced to consider the dynamics of diversifying its organization and consider a solution to include the many variables of

104 Fairchild, Culture, 459.

105 Ibid., 460.

106 M. Bertrand Main et al. Police Training Concerning Migrants and Ethnic Relations: Practical Guidelines (Strasburg Council of Europe, 1993), 73.

ethnic differences with the ascension of East Germany. Berlin was the first major city to encounter this issue. Eastern European immigrants introduced Germany to its largest groups of immigrants: ethnically German immigrants of former Soviet bloc countries. In Berlin alone, the increase of immigrant population increased dramatically to approximately 366,000 registered immigrants by October 1990.¹⁰⁷ The Berlin police also grappled with the influx of East Germany's former Berlin police, creating a dynamically ethnically diverse force. The Turkish immigrant issues were addressed at the same time, through measures instituted by the leadership hierarchy embracing diversity through a liberal agenda.¹⁰⁸

These issues of minority representation became even more pronounced during the 1990s in Germany with the numerous police confrontations with minority groups that plagued Germany during early part of the decade. As an attempt to remedy the situation, in 1993, the Council of Ministers and Senators allowed for the individual states to allow for the recruitment of candidates who were of foreign origin.¹⁰⁹ This measure would trump the in-placed civil service laws (Beamtengesetz) allowing children of guest workers to apply for these positions. The measure essentially ended the practice that all police officers no longer had to be of German citizenry. In a case study conducted using the Hamburg Police Force as a model, the results showed that diversity can be achieved through a dynamic effort of recruiting minorities. Candidates had to demonstrate language efficiency and understand German culture and the rule of law.¹¹⁰ The three-year training process would naturally, through socialization with other recruits, create integration through osmosis. Once training was completed, the candidate would then become a police officer after swearing "an oath of allegiance to German basic law and Hamburg's constitution."¹¹¹ The problem encountered with candidacy once again centered on the issue of language proficiency. After the program began, the result was

107 M. Bertrand Main et al., *Police*, 72.

108 *Ibid.*, 72.

109 Barbara Thériault, "The Carriers of Diversity within Police Forces: A "Weberian" Approach to Diversity in Germany," *German Politics and Society* 22 (2004): 84.

110 Thériault, *Diversity*, 86.

111 *Ibid.*, 86.

one candidate being hired as a police officer.¹¹² German language enhancement courses were included to the program in order to alleviate communication barriers between teacher and students. Additional measures were taken that minimized potential cultural biased questions on tests, and a point system that gave a non native German speakers additional help on other examinations. This system of preferred recruitment allowed for non-Turkish immigrants with other language backgrounds to be hired. The genesis of the program was intended for Turkish heritage candidates, but in the spirit of gaining support for the program all minority groups who were bilingual were able to receive the preferred status.¹¹³ By 2004, Hamburg had “hired 148 police officers from non German background of which 25 were not holders of the German citizenship. Among the 25 officers, 11 were European Union citizens, nine Turkish citizens, two citizens from the former Yugoslavia, two Polish nationals, and one Indonesian.”¹¹⁴ Today, a mixture of Romanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Cameroonians, and Turkish officers patrol the streets of Hamburg under the same program that allowed for non German citizens to be hired as police officers.

Key for Germany is total acknowledgment that change is needed directed by the government. Forward thinking states and cities will surpass more conservative traditional risk adverse states. Top down directed policy will create a universal standard that enhance minority hiring practices and stabilize uneven results thus far. An active participation by German government officials using the French model, avoiding quotas, yet actively and vigorously seeking diversity through enhanced recruitment campaigns targeting minority group can possibly alleviate unaccounted obstructions that hinder diversity within the police force. An active participation by German government officials, using the French model of centralized planning, combined with the previously adopted measures of actively and vigorously seeking diversity through enhanced recruitment campaigns will help minorities establish even footing with their native counterparts. By

¹¹² Thériault, Diversity, 88.

¹¹³ Marina Oh Brook, Auslander Bei Der Deutschen Polizei “Foreigners at the German Police,” der Freitag, 11 March 2000, <<http://www.freitag.de/2000/45/00450301.htm>>.

¹¹⁴ Thériault, Diversity, 96.

targeting minority groups, the German government can possibly alleviate unaccounted obstructions that hinder diversity within the police force. Ideally, a major goal for policy makers is to shape its police force along the same demographical composition of the region it serves. Once hired, a German administrator should accept that in a modern society; a multicultural identity within the force would only enhance relations with the community. Positive action measures for candidates of minority or ethnically different background are necessary to help accelerate entry in the police force. Without them, any “official” claim of an egalitarian society based on merit determining social placement within the context of a German model can be questioned. The reality is not everyone is created equally and possesses the same economic and social resources allowing for better education opportunities. Factors and considerations must be made in regards to command of the language and the ability and exposure of multicultural environmental understanding of host nation customs. Considerations must also take into account the demographics of the community it serves.

The benefit of having a diverse police force representative of its community can be measured in its ability to understand the complexity of the ethnic differences from within the community it serves. Cities like Hamburg serves to gain from a multicultural make up of its police force as it becomes familiar with traditions and customs that seem different and potentially provocative. Police training courses specifically designed in cultural sensitivity is key to better communication when working in a diverse neighborhood. Also mixed into the equation are the issues of officer comradery and the continual exposure to peers of different backgrounds. Both sides learn of the other cultural background, customs, and the cultural intricacies that can become enablers and enhance sensitivity. Additionally, officers who serve in a community serve as a positive role model or at the very least, show that Germany is sensitive to a group’s plight. Police training experts with previous adaptation of similar programs throughout the world have proved just how successful a regiment of tolerance and sensitivity can have. Hamburg and Berlin have adopted programs that stress “the specific knowledge and understanding of matters concerning migrants and ethnic relations should at all times be founded in

general social science knowledge and in professional ethics based on human rights.”¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, not all police personnel agree with a policy that lessens its power. The counter arguments is that individuals of the same heritage are working for the “man” and use the classical street term, sell-out, or a culturally similar definition have been made in order to delegitimize preferred and targeted recruitment practice. However, most studies point out that for the good majority, most are at the very least ambivalent or view these corrective policies as a positive measure.

¹¹⁵ M. Bertrand Main et al., Police, 24.



Figure 2. A poster made by the Hamburg Police Academy actively recruiting Turkish immigrants for police training. (From Thériault, 87)

G. OVERCOMING SOCIAL BARRIERS AND DISCRIMINATION

German issues of discrimination within its labor market and more importantly, its police forces, are a natural manifestation when two distinct cultures come together. A clear example of this fear is manifested through German ultra right wing calling for a ban on minarets in Germany. Their argument follows in line with their belief that Turks are infiltrating Germany and conducting an “Islamification” agenda of the Fatherland.¹¹⁶ Other cities in Germany such as Cologne are going through a bitter battle over expansion of a Mosque and even the proposed largest Mosque in Germany, which would be able to accommodate 1200 worshippers at the time. Catholic and Jewish protesters claim that this move is a sign of Muslim “colonization of foreign territory.”¹¹⁷ They also make a strong point by citing that the Turkish city of Tarsus, which is the birthplace of Paul the Apostle, uses the only Catholic Church as a museum. Requests to Turkey to reestablish the church have fallen on deaf ears. Their argument continues when the Archbishop of Cologne states they “are happy to ask tolerance from their German neighbor. But they don’t seem as willing to dispense religious tolerance themselves.”¹¹⁸

Protests from the far right have gravitated to the center of politics leaving many to wonder: Is Germany multi cultural? Germany has been extremely progressive with its attempts of inclusion with immigrants from European heritage, but the invitation doesn’t necessarily correlate to Turkish immigrants. Ethnic, social, and religious differences are the main factors that separate European immigrants and Turkish immigrants. Over a period of time, the development of prejudices begins with simple observations of a different cultural and its practices. A lot of these conditions are magnified to an even greater extent through the lens of poverty. Animosity develops and individuals begin to conceive generalizations. What develops from here is a perception of cultural differences. Xenophobic individuals attempting to put down the other culture use these perceptions. From here, racist rhetoric and prejudices develop, creating insensitivity

¹¹⁶ Spiegel Online, “Far Right Rhetoric: Germany’s Own Minaret Debate Turns Nasty,” *Spiegel*, 5 February 2010, <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,676156,00.html>>.

¹¹⁷ Spiegel Online, ”Cologne’s Religious Conflict: Getting Catholics and Muslims to Cooperate,” *Spiegel*, 22 December 2010, <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,668676,00.html>>.

¹¹⁸ Spiegel Online, Cologne.

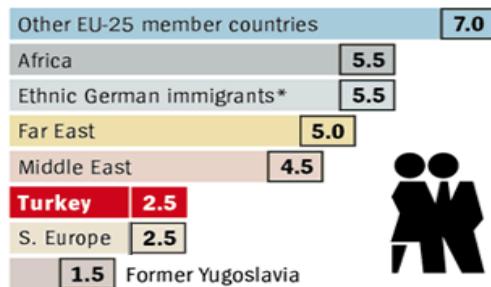
towards that group, followed by strict treatment possibly accompanied by harassment. The group, in turn, recognizes the harsh treatment and reciprocates its treatment through isolation and anti-social behavior. Normally, this behavior ends through confrontation, either direct or indirect. In the case of Germany, the group is the Turkish community, and isolation is the results of its continual perceived social differences. The fact is that unless Germans becoming more willing to accept Turks as equals, discrimination will not subside and equality in the labor market will continue to be absent.

Integration levels according to place of origin

On a scale of 1.0 (=failed integration) to 8.0 (=successful integration)

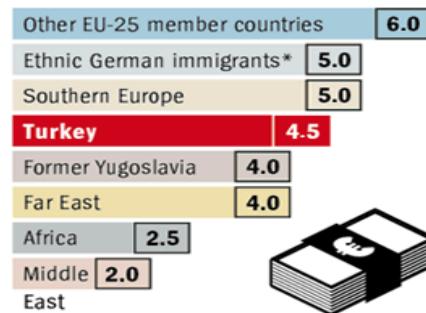
Assimilation

INDICATORS: German citizenship, bicultural marriages



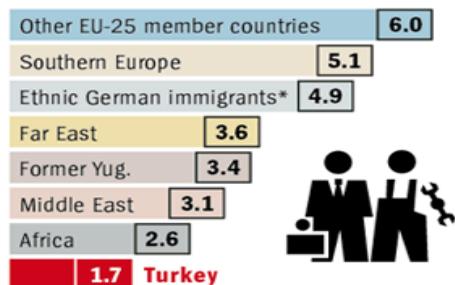
Financial Security

INDICATORS: Dependence on public benefits, individual earnings



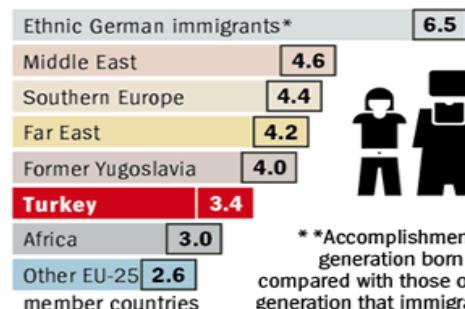
Gainful Employment

INDICATORS: Statistics for unemployment, youth unemployment and self-employment, proportion of housewives, number of people working in public service and professional jobs



Dynamism**

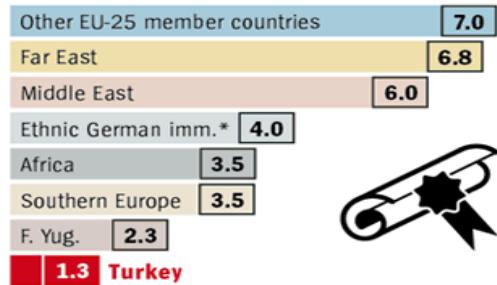
INDICATORS: German citizenship, bicultural marriages, educational achievement, unemployment rates, dependence on public benefits



**Accomplishments of generation born here compared with those of the generation that immigrated.

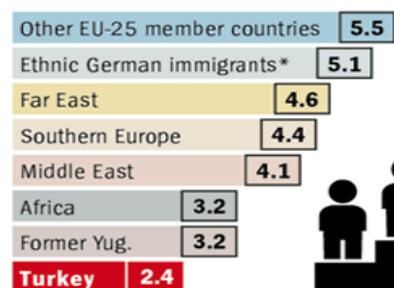
Education

INDICATORS: Percentage of uncompleted degrees, level of educational achievement, number of high school seniors, number of academics



Final results

Overall evaluation



DER SPIEGEL

Figure 3. Study conducted depicting the levels of integration of Turkish immigrants in Germany (Elger et al., Spiegel Online International)

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IV. UNITED KINGDOM

A. UNITED KINGDOM AND ITS FORMER COLONIES

The total number of immigrants entering the United Kingdom in 2006 was 451,700 people. Of that total 31 percent were from EU 27 nations or approximately 140,027 immigrants. 69 percent of their immigrants were from non-EU27 states or approximately 311,673 immigrants.¹¹⁹ Historically, the UK has received much of their immigration from their former colonies and did not have any particular reason to seek immigrants from other countries. The bulk of European immigrants into the UK have been the Irish, obviously having the required skills of the English language. Other immigrants entering the UK were raised in British territories and for the most part, learned to speak English before immigrating. Recent immigrant trends are a product of settlement for post war reconstruction efforts that have resulted in a huge immigrant population by 1950. Tension between immigrants and natives intensified once their numbers became noticeable. Conservative Party sentiment helped solidify this fear with anti immigrant rhetoric, especially during the 1960s. Conservative politician used the rise of immigrant demographics as a persistent theme in attempts to avoid the winds of change and lose control of government. Because this threat was pervasive in everyday politics, anti immigrant sentiment became a reoccurring theme and slowly became a part of the British psyche to view immigrants, especially darker immigrants, as a threat to their way of life.¹²⁰ The leading purveyor of this movement was manifested through Conservative Party Member of Parliament (MP), Enoch Powell, and his condemnation of immigrants changing the social landscape of English life. In his “River of Blood” speech, Powell assigns blame for the degradation of society because of the influx of immigrants resulting in an immediate public backlash in popular opinion against

¹¹⁹ Eurostat Press Release, 2.

¹²⁰ Rajesh Joshi, “Democratising the Police: Lessons from the UK,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 35 (30 September 2000): 3590.

immigrants.¹²¹ This led to additional measures to stem the wave of darker skinned immigrants and manifested itself into the legislative acts that “a British passport holder born overseas could only settle in Britain if they had a work permit and could prove that a parent or grandparent had been born in the UK.”¹²²

B. UK BORDER AGENCY

UK immigration is unique from France and Germany because their influxes of immigrants are from its former colonies and or territories. The British model of colonization was not always inclusive; rather, one of the byproducts of its policies was the fact that natives were encouraged to speak the language. This unique relationship developed even more so over the years and by the time of independence, most spoke English fluently. This historical tie to immigrants with knowledge of the native tongue greatly improved the movement into the labor market and allowed for the UK to adopt more restrictive measures in regards to immigration. These restrictive measures have slightly curbed the flow of immigrants into the UK, thus succeeding at limiting entry into the UK based on desired criteria. The most significant aspect of UK immigration policy is its restrictive overtone to lower educated migrants. Effectively, migrants now can be classified as those who enter the UK with an education and those who promise to obtain a higher education. Educated immigrants who enter the labor market with no formal UK education may enter on a competitive point awards system which takes account of education and country of origin. For those who qualify and enter the UK without an education, they are required to obtain a certain level of cultural and language proficiency that enables success in the work place. The result is these types of applications are normally vetted through an intense screening process and come under scrutiny from immigration officials. The recent transition of governmental responsibilities for immigration has now been transferred to the UK Border Agency. Reform has made immigration into the UK even more difficult. The Border Agency classifies immigrants

¹²¹ Donlay T. Studlar, “British Public Opinions, Colour Issues, and Enoch Powell: A Longitudinal Analysis,” *British Journal of Political Science* 4 (July 1974): 373.

¹²² BBC News, “Short History of Immigration,” 1972–1979, *BBC*, 5 January 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/uk/2002/race/short_history_of_immigration.stm#1950>.

under four labor categories: highly skilled workers, investors, and entrepreneurs; sponsored skilled labor; temporary workers; and workers from the European Economic Area and Switzerland. The UK's current official policy for migrant laborers is totally economic and labor dependent. This becomes clear when the Border Agency defines the purpose of migration as "to boost Britain's economy by bringing the right skills here from around the world and ensuring this country is easy to visit legally."¹²³ The UK has adopted a plan similar to Australia's point system that identifies and makes a concerted effort to keep individuals with the right skills and who can contribute to British society able to come to the UK and work. The variables that give them more points are based on educational background, a need for labor, and competent comprehension and speaking ability of the English language.

C. UK LABOR MARKET

This policy has allowed current immigrants entering the UK labor market with much greater chance for success because of the rigid criteria just to gain entry. By looking at data compiled by the UK Labor Force Survey, four categories emerge that distinguish who arrive in the UK to enter the labor market versus those who enter the UK to take advantage of its education system: (Type I) white labor market entrants, (Type II) non-white labor market entrants (Type III) white education entrants (TYPE IV) non-white education entrants. The results clearly demonstrate that in three of the four categories, immigrants fare better in terms of employment, compared to their native counterparts. The exception is that non-white immigrants have a larger unemployment rate than other immigrants and natives.¹²⁴ Additionally, the variation in employment rates is based on a factor known as scarring, which is "the view that current labor market outcomes for immigrant workers are influenced by labor market conditions when they arrived in the UK."¹²⁵ The results also prove that white immigrants have a better opportunity finding employment immediately at point of migration. The labor market

¹²³ UK Border Agency, "Managing Migration," 9 March 2009.
<<http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/managingborders/managingmigration>>.

¹²⁴ Ken Clark and Joanne Lindley, *Immigrant Labor Market Assimilation and Arrival Effects: Evidence from the UK Labor Force Survey* (Bonn: IZA Discussion Paper, 2006), 11.

¹²⁵ Clark and Lindley, Assimilation, 5.

also shows that their opportunity to leave the labor market and return diminishes over time. This is due to competition and over a given period of time, they see gradual increases. As for non-white immigrants, they have the same opportunities as white immigrants but they also see a decline with no increase. Non-whites immigrant employment after the age of thirty is 83 percent, while white immigrant rate is 89 percent. This applies to type II immigrants who obtain the highest level of UK education. The disparity of income and employment prove ethnicity plays an important role in the UK's labor market.

D. A HIGHLY EDUCATED IMMIGRATION POPULATION

The benefits for education are clear for immigrants, the more obtained, the higher probability you have entering the labor market and the more you are able to earn. No ethnic penalty was discovered and the investment in human capital becomes paramount. When measuring education, immigrants who enter the UK and receive a formal education have a better opportunity entering the work force with a higher wage. Statistically, for "both white and non-white immigrants, the benefits of UK education are clear: the individual with 16 years of UK schooling (type II) has the highest earnings at almost every point over the working life compared to the other education entrant types."¹²⁶ Essentially, the more education you have, no matter white or non-white, the more you will make once you enter the labor market.

For the immigrants who are not employed at the same rate as natives, what role does language play? The consensus is that as immigrants who obtain a higher level of education, the better their control of the English language they have, thus improving their stock in the work force. The advantage is simple: understanding English plays a crucial role in future success, thus creating a better path towards integration. Acquiring the necessary language skills is an economic incentive. In an older study, Derek Leslie and Joanne Lindley used available data compiled by the Policy Study Institute to investigate the social and economic conditions of ethnic minorities in the UK and examined the language proficiency of non-white immigrants. The study associated language fluency

¹²⁶ Clark and Lindley, Assimilation, 20.

and employment in determining that Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants tend to be less fluent in English when compared to immigrants from other Commonwealths, Africa, and Asia. The results were 46 percent and 40 percent fluency, respectively.¹²⁷ However, other barriers remain for Afro-Caribbean immigrants who entered the country already knowing English, yet failed to fully integrate into British society. If language and education determine entrance into the work force, then why does a segment of native born English speaking population have difficulties obtaining the same results in the labor market? Does race have anything to do with it? Does a historically “members only” country have the ability to be cultural and color tolerant? Recently public released statistic suggests that equality for all in the UK education system is far from being a level playing field. Black students from Caribbean heritage have a history of underperformance and under achievement in education. The schools claim that there are no real monitoring mechanisms that can provide additional support for this group.¹²⁸ Indicators of a study conducted by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) have evidence from a 1999 study that black students start strong and through the years, taper off in the realm of marginality. Black students also have a higher rate of expulsion, normally for behavioral problems. It also suggests that they are subject to more disciplinary infraction compared to white natives and other immigrant groups.¹²⁹ In a similar study conducted by OFSTED in 2004, a report identifying students of Bangladeshi heritage, demonstrated that they too suffer from similar circumstances of low educational attainment. They as a group attain lower scores compared to the national average.¹³⁰ However, their plight is much more different from Back Caribbean heritage students. Although most Bangladeshi household speak multiple languages, learning English has been a determining factor on educational success.¹³¹ Students, who were interviewed during the study, essentially saw themselves as British with little problems

¹²⁷ Derek Leslie and Joanne Lindley, “The Impact of Language Ability on Employment and Earnings of Britain’s Ethnic Communities,” *Economica* (November 2001): 594.

¹²⁸ Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), “Achievement of Black Caribbean Pupils in secondary School,” *OFSTED Publication* (April 2002): 30.

¹²⁹ OFSTED, Caribbean, 1.

¹³⁰ Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), “Achievement of Bangladeshi Heritage Pupils” *OFSTED Publication* (May 2004): 9.

¹³¹ OFSTED, Bangladeshi, 9.

reading and writing in English. Most of these children were native born and English was a part of their life. The immigrant parents often had difficulties in speaking English and used their children as interpreters when needed.

A study was conducted at several schools with a large student body of bilingual students. The study discovered that by emphasizing English as an additional language, they were able to enhance a teacher's ability to help recognize areas where bilingual students needed specialized help, allowing Bangladeshi and black heritage groups to improve their English language abilities. The study also discovered that black communities compared to Bangladeshi communities, have difficulties in obtaining better education results despite additional help. On a cultural context level, poverty and lack of parental involvement were key factors in student educational achievement. Bangladeshi parents push education as the only path to social status. Because parents push their children harder through the scope of parental involvement, students identify education as a determining factor for successful entry into the labor market. Supporters of the current system believe that although possible xenophobic attitudes may exist, the problem lies with the pupil and not the system. Their argument centers on the student's responsibility to his future, and anything less than total commitment to better his or her human capital will dictate placement in the labor market. A few schools that had exceptional results conducted business a little different than most schools. The schools focused on active parent involvement, and continual analysis on why a student failed to achieve an acceptable level of achievement. OFSTED identified several schools that had perhaps a better system compared to other schools of strong teacher and parent involvement stressing the "teaching, mentoring, and communication" can overcome problems of declining levels of achievement. Key to the prospect of success was the relationship between teachers, students, and parents. Parents overwhelmingly stressed the importance of discipline as the key ingredient for student success. The temptation of obtaining easy money through street pop culture at times becomes seductive to a student who is already struggling in school. The additional pressure of racist attitudes and harassment can also push these young students over the edge. Community involvement through mentorship programs seems to aid in combating these problems that plague all disadvantage youth.

Intervention and prevention by strong willed parents can reinforce what is being taught at school. Racially tolerant and well-trained police officers can also serve the community in a positive capacity. One parent suggested that if the police were more involved with positive action within a community, instead of policing it, respect would increase while crime would significantly decrease.¹³² Bottom line to the analysis: schools that were proactive and monitored success and continued to reassess its programs had higher levels of achievement among its students. Data collection is a must, in order to focus on group needs and to identify and fix problems of underachievement. This is something that France and Germany can improve on and can create a more tolerant atmosphere in a school setting.

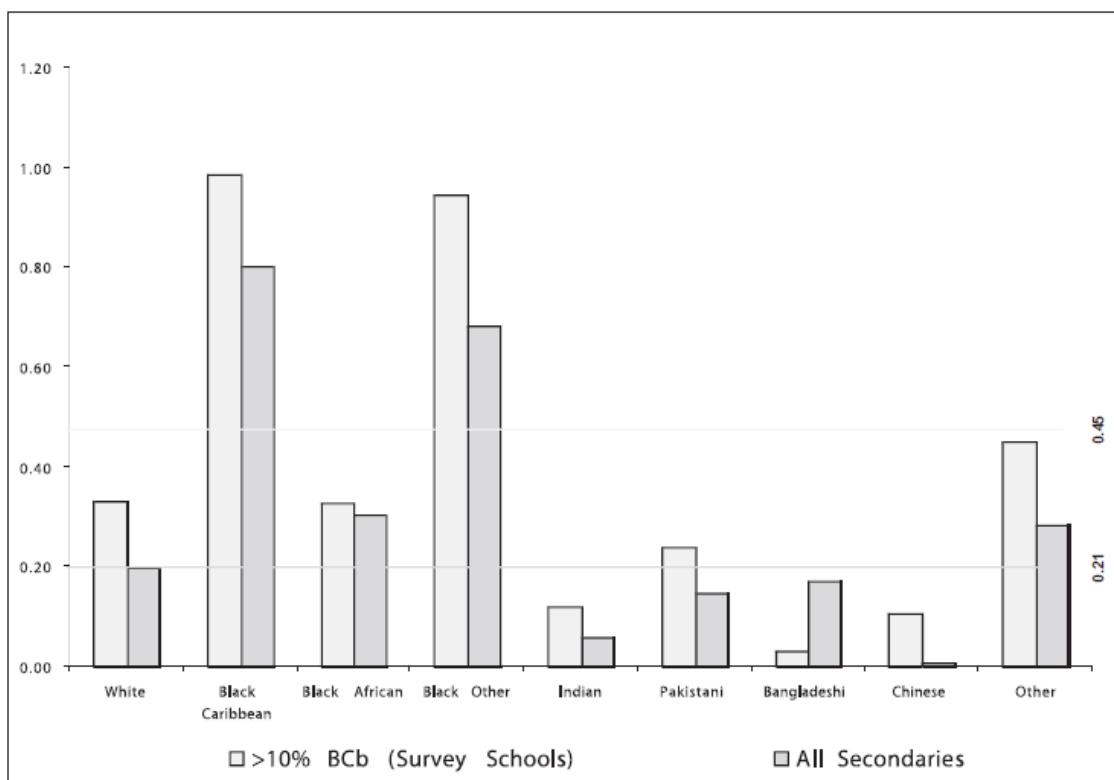


Table 4. A graph representing students' expulsion rate and exclusion from secondary school (OMSTED, 36.)

With regards to wage earnings, a recent study conducted in 2008 discovered immigrants as a whole, face an extreme penalty of up to 30 percent for males, while

¹³² OFSTED, Bangladeshi, 13.

female immigrants wages are 15 percent below similar aged native women.¹³³ Entry-level wage parity for immigrants is finally achieved over time, but for men it is much slower when compared to women. What must be taken into account is that immigrants are generally younger than natives who enter the work force; therefore studies conducted conclude that immigrants are likely to earn less because of their entry level status combined with experience in the native labor market. Strikingly, but not unexpected, the study also concludes that wage parity is also based on country of origin: European immigrants made up to 25 percent less compared to natives, African men up to 35 percent less, Asian men up to 45 percent less.¹³⁴

E. GENERATIONAL UPWARD MOBILITY

Inter-generational advancement results have shown that education and command of the English language are keys for success in the UK's labor market. Aided by anti-discrimination measures, the next generation has fared better compared to their parents in the UK. If English plays important roles to success in the UK labor market, and in most cases, UK immigrants arrive knowing the English language already, then what could possibly lead to a lack of 100 percent parity between natives and immigrant with regards to entry in the labor market and wages. In other countries, such as Germany, the government can claim that language is preventing immigrants from 100 percent integration. But for the UK, statistical equality in the labor market has yet to be achieved, yet English is the prevalent language of its immigrants and their offspring. One explanation used commonly in the UK is that institutional racism is rampant in the labor market. The most significant barriers that native born migrants may face, that deter progression and upward mobility includes discrimination based on religion, color, and culture where "whites do not wish to be in a subservient position to non-whites."¹³⁵ The act of discrimination in the labor market results in fewer promotions and subsequently inhibits earnings. Statistically, former Caribbean commonwealth immigrants, African,

¹³³ Richard Dickens and Abigail McKnight, *Assimilation of Migrants into the British Labor Market* (London: Center for Economic Performance, 2008), 7.

¹³⁴ Dickens and McKnight, *Assimilation*, 15.

¹³⁵ D.H. Blackaby, et al., *White/Ethnic Minority and Employment Differentials in Britain: Evidence from the LFS* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 25.

Pakistani, Indian, and Bangladeshi men all face racially biased discrimination that prevent them from receiving equal pay for white collar managerial jobs despite their upbringing and education in the UK. The most statistically discriminated ethnic group in the UK is immigrants of Pakistani decent. They are, by far, the most disadvantage group in the UK in employment and earnings.¹³⁶ In the 90s, the pay gap was narrowed down to 10 percent.¹³⁷ This is statistically better compared to France and the UK, but still needs improvement. Clearly the UK suffers from systematic inherent biased hiring and promotion selection. The government's own admission and case studies have shown no matter how much integration, certain aspects of the labor market may be unobtainable to immigrants and their offspring unless the government intervenes and changes policy through preferred hiring preferences. In a published government paper by the UK's Department for Work & Pension, it recommends the way to overcome and flatten out these barriers by extending certain rights:

the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 to the private sector and to strengthen and monitor the working of the Act in the public sector...a more rigorous scheme of ethnic minority monitoring, and enforcement procedures, with rigorous evaluation might give a sound evidence base for deciding whether or not to extend provisions to the private sector.¹³⁸

There is no doubt that with a restricted immigrant policy, the UK has gained access to immigrants who are more inclined to succeed in the workforce. As Border and Immigration Minister Phil Woolas stated:

The number of Eastern Europeans coming here to work is dramatically falling and research suggests that many of those that came have now gone home. Nevertheless, the Government is doing everything it can to ensure migration is working for the British labor market and the country as a whole.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ D.H. Blackaby, et al., *Born in Britain: How are Native Ethnic Minorities faring in the British Labor Market* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 7.

¹³⁷ Blackaby, Born, 26.

¹³⁸ Heath and Chueng, Ethnic, 12.

¹³⁹ UK Border Agency, "Immigration and Asylum Statistics Released," 9 March 2009, <<http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/newsarticles/immandasylumstats>>.

Inherently, this policy has led to immigrants, on average, to enter the UK at a stage where education places them ahead of native-born and more has lead to an unprecedented educated migrant population. As a result, the UK's protectionist policies have succeeded in curbing unlawful immigration and made it difficult for lowered tiered immigrants to seek employment in the UK. For the immigrants who successfully make it to the UK, language and education have become the priority pillars for making them integrate into their society. Immigrants who do not qualify due to their weak language and educational background find themselves rejected before entering the UK labor market. The UK's immigration policy essentially forces all applicants between the ages of 18 through 65 who apply for settlement to demonstrate knowledge of language and of "life in the UK" proficiency, unless they are applying under one of the categories which does not contain this requirement.¹⁴⁰

F. UK POLICE FORCE INTEGRATION

Experts in race relations believe that the police are exact replicas of its community when it comes to prejudices and inherent racist attitudes; they consequently transfer into the duties of being a police officer. These attitudes thus become a reflection and reaffirmation of embedded bigoted sentiment. The United Kingdom police force is a storied organization with a rich past of service to its citizens. The forces were created to its current state through a series of modernizing measures that evolved over a long period of time embracing liberal practices. Most notable from these acts were the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 and other various Police Acts that formed the backbone of police forces in the UK. The Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 became the first step in adopting policies and procedures of a police force to represent, serve, and protect its local citizens through centralization and standardization of common police procedures.¹⁴¹ What manifested from these events was a police force based on community representation and a demographical representation of the people it was organized to serve. The current configuration of policing in the UK is divided among 4 agencies. The first level is

¹⁴⁰ United Kingdom, "Life in the UK," *Knowledge of Life in the UK, Chapter I, Section 18* (2 April 2007): 3.

¹⁴¹ The UK Statute Law Database, "Metropolitan Police Act of 1928," 1 January 2009, <<http://www.statutelaw.gov.uk/content.aspx?activeTextDocId=1032003>>.

known as the Territorial Police Force, which serve a defined region and comes under the management of the regional Chief Constable defined by the Police Act of 1996, the Scotland Police Act of 1967, and the Police Northern Ireland Act of 2000.¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ The second agency is known as the Special Police Force which serves the United Kingdom through various national forces. Most of the forces were organized under the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act of 2005.¹⁴⁵ The third are various non-police law enforcement agencies; the fourth group consists of miscellaneous forces such as the UK Border Agency, various ports, parks, railway police, and the Ministry of Defense Police which fall under common law of UK legislation. From the very beginning of the immigrant inflows from postwar necessity to rebuild, agencies failed to recognize the positive impact of having a diverse force and were held captive by their time in history. The problem that developed was that these forces failed to evolve when the influx of immigration overwhelmed an institution with traditional norms that were highly centralized to local culture. When the community became multicultural, the force failed to progress, leaving a tainted image of institutional racism. Through direct contact and experiencing police brutality, immigrants viewed the police as an extension of the institutional racism within the government.

Throughout the postwar era, the government passed legislation toughening immigration in to the country, especially for darker skinned immigration. This reinforced immigrant perception that the government was racist; therefore its security apparatus was racist as well, which led to difficult and tense relations. Accusation of racial harassment and racial profiling became prevalent while the police viewed immigrants as threat to everything that was English. Experts in race relations believe that the police are exact replicas of its community when it comes to prejudices and inherent racist attitudes; they

¹⁴² The UK Statute Law Database, “Police Act of 1996 (C.16),” 14 January 2010, <<http://www.statutelaw.gov.uk/content.aspx?activeTextDocId=2729388>>.

¹⁴³ The UK Statute Law Database, Scotland Police Act of 1967, 14 January 2010, <<http://www.statutelaw.gov.uk/content.aspx?activeTextDocId=1889977>>.

¹⁴⁴ The UK Statute Law Database, Police (Northern Ireland) Act of 200, <<http://www.statutelaw.gov.uk/content.aspx?activeTextDocId=1754584>>.

¹⁴⁵ Office of Public Sector Information, Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005, 14 January 2010, <http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2005/ukpga_20050015_en_1>.

consequently transfer into the duties of being a police officer. These attitudes thus become a reflection and reaffirmation of embedded bigoted sentiment.

Further evidence of institutionalized racism in several metropolitan police forces was manifested through the tendency of law enforcement officials to generalize that all immigrants are of suspicious character, subjecting them to unwarranted searches, seizures, and the use of force. During its institution of the Select Committee on Race in March 1976, the panel concluded, “London’s black citizens...are disproportionately involved in many forms of crime.”¹⁴⁶ It was a commission designed to identify problems and instead laid blame on the immigrants themselves. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry changed that by validating accusations of targeted discrimination when it concluded that racism is inherent to all governmental institutions.¹⁴⁷ The most prominent accusation was directed at the police force, striking a dagger into the heart of the British psyche. Further incidents only caused more tension between the Metropolitan Police and led to charges by opposition groups, supportive of reform within the police force in favor of racial tolerance and diversity, that institutional racism has led to increased hostilities against immigrants. A home affairs committee in 1985–1988 outlined the typical response to an ethnically diverse community as racist through indifference and insensitive service. Some of the actions described by the panel were:

Slowness in responding to calls for help (or failure to arrive at all), hostile questioning and unsympathetic treatment of victims (sometimes leading to the arrest of the victims), unreasonably denying the racial motive of attacks, unwillingness to provide interpreters, failure to act against perpetrators even to the extent of giving informal caution, and failure to keep victims informed of action take.¹⁴⁸

In some cases, research suggests that the open allowance of racially biased behavior was condoned or encouraged by supervisors. A Proactive racially sensitive professionalism was stressed in light of the accusations.¹⁴⁹ In 1999, Home Secretary Jack Straw essentially criminalized instituted racist behavior under the Race Relation

¹⁴⁶ Rajesh Joshi, *Democratising*, 3591.

¹⁴⁷ Mark Christian, *The Politics of Black Presence in Britain and Male Exclusion in the British Education System*, *Journal of Black Studies* 35 (January 2005): 336.

¹⁴⁸ Rajesh Joshi, *Democratising*, 3592.

¹⁴⁹ Rajesh Joshi, *Democratising*, 3593.

Act, previously used to the private sector, now extended to police and other public officials.¹⁵⁰ Additional spending was authorized and new training programs were instituted in race relations with the goals of sensitivity when dealing with multi ethnic communities.

The Metropolitan Black Police Association was formed in 1994 directly due to lack of integration and questionable police minority relations. The organization decided that it was up to racially or ethnically different officer to discover ways to improve minority hiring at the local and national level. The government began to recognize their grievances and became more approachable to equal opportunity. Additionally, a program was established to enhance minority hiring and begin erasing years of bad police practices towards minorities. The challenge became to convince the minority population, who were once the victims of insensitive and at times, criminal acts, to actively participate in an institution that made it a habit to harass and torment their family and friends. The few officers of ethnicity that began service in the force in the 1960s were seen as outsiders and anomalies of token hiring. The adaption of diversity within the force allowed for some minor progress. These programs nominally enhances minority hiring to 1,659 minority officers by 1993.¹⁵¹

Despite cultural sensitivity training, racial stereotyping still managed to continue well into the late 20th century. Minor progress in race relations helped police forces become more tolerant, but prejudice still manifests itself in harassment or harsh treatment. Even today, when direct racism is not present, racial preferences can manipulate who will get a citation and will not. Instances of the same infraction being committed by two different offenders, one white, one of ethnic background, can have varying results. All too often, the officer who is of the same cultural background of the offender will demonstrate leniency, while the ethnically different offender receives a citation. With an increase of minorities into the UK police forces proportional to the population's ethnic demographics most of these unacceptable practice can be curtailed.

¹⁵⁰ BBC News, "Jack Straw's Full Response," 25 March 1999, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/303474.stm>.

¹⁵¹ M. Bertrand Main, Police, 131.

If socialization within the group is not enough, the threat of a complaint for improper police procedure will force the most ardent intolerant racist to reconsider his future and own self interest, forcing him to conform. Therefore programs that emphasize “team concepts” increase the likelihood of forcing unbiased police enforcement, diversity, and acceptance of cultural differences.¹⁵² This process of acceptance through teamwork comes by shattering myths and stereotypes through the process of evaluating the nature of an individual based on ability and the content of that individual’s character. In one example, a police officer of Jamaican heritage, who often felt isolated and socially excluded by his coworkers, revealed in once instance the entire negative environment changing in one moment, he stated:

One night there was quite a bad disturbance in the town centre and we actually had to wade in. One of the officers was overpowered so to speak and he was getting a damn good pasting. Now, because I had done quite a lot of self-defence and I'd done quite a bit of martial arts I didn't find any problems. I was able to dig him out and get him back to the van. And from that point onwards I was one of the lads.... That was it. I was one of the lads because I'd actually gone out and proved myself in a situation and they thought well that's it for us, he's one of the lads. And from that point onwards I was always being dragged off, 'Oh we need someone to come with us. Call Bob, go and find Bob, wherever is he, go and find Bob'. You know, if I was sat at the station desk doing something else, 'Can I have Bob to come with me please?¹⁵³

¹⁵² Simon Holdaway, “Construction and Sustaining ‘Race’ Within the Police Workforce,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 48 (March 1997): 26.

¹⁵³ Simon Holdaway, Construction, 27.

His recollection of the event serves as an example to the power of socialization overcoming stereotypes and exclusion transforming a hostile working environment into a more permissive one. Despite the progress, many obstacles still remain. Racial intolerance will not disappear overnight. Various degrees of racism still persist and the best solution UK officials can use to solve them is by maintaining team cohesion and socialization. Today, UK police forces have made strides in hiring minorities and females in numbers once unthought-of. Minority recruitment has advanced to a degree of efficiency and to higher levels all around. Additionally, assessments conducted under the British Crime Survey in minority communities have revealed a growing respect towards the police. Over 59 percent were satisfied by their performance.¹⁵⁴ More importantly, efforts to increase the number of minorities in the police force have begun to show a steady increase. From 1999 to 2008 minority hiring increased from 2.0 percent of the total police force to 4.1 percent. In total, 5793 total minority officers worked in 43 police forces from England and Wales.¹⁵⁵



Table 5. Graph representing percentage of minority police officers in England and Wales (Home Office Statistical Bulletin, “Police Service Strength 2008”)

¹⁵⁴ UK Home Office, “Policing Minister’s Assessment of Minority Ethnic Recruitment, Retention and Progression in the Police Service,” *Home Office*, (20 November 2008): 1.

¹⁵⁵ Simon Bullock, “Home Office Statistical Bulletin: Police Service Strength,” *Home Office* (22 July 2008): 6.

The largest police force with greatest amount of minority hiring is from London's Metropolitan Police. Minorities composed 8.2 percent of total police force in London with West Midlands coming in second with a rate of 7.4 percent.¹⁵⁶ This increase of proportion representation in the police force has not equated to greater numbers of immigrants in positions of greater responsibilities. Minority Police officer strength in leadership positions is considerably lower compared to the percentage of constables.¹⁵⁷

Rank	Percentage of minority ethnic officer strength
ACPO	3.3
Chief Superintendents	2.3
Superintendents	2.9
Chief Inspectors	3.0
Inspectors	2.6
Sergeants	3.0
Constables	4.4
Total minority ethnic strength	4.1

Table 6. Minority police officer strength according to rank.(Home Office Statistical Bulletin, "Police Service Strength 2008")

The composition of all minority officers is divided into four groups: Asian or Asian British, Black or Black British, Chinese or other ethnic group, and mixed race. The biggest minority group represented identified themselves as either Asian or Asian British at 33 percent. The second largest group was any combination of either multiple ethnicities or mixture of native British with another ethnic group at 26 percent. The third largest group was Black or Black British at 24 percent. The smallest identified group was Chinese or other coming at 11 percent.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Simon Bullock, Home, 7.

¹⁵⁷ Simon Bullock, Home, 7.

¹⁵⁸ Simon Bullock, Home, 8.

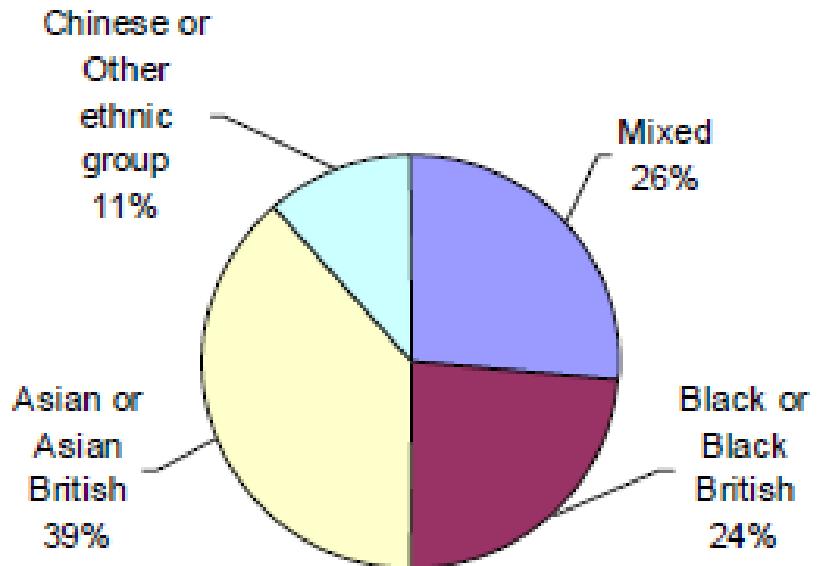


Figure 4. Graphical representation of the ethnic composition of police officers in England and Wales (Home Office Statistical Bulletin, “Police Service Strength 2008”)

In addition to these statistics, other milestones have been reached. One of the major stumbling blocks to recruiting and retaining well-qualified minorities was the issue of tolerance and harassment within the workplace. In an effort to create a much more hospitable working environment, steps were taken to illuminate racist comments and other demeaning language within the workplace.¹⁵⁹ This was accomplished through counseling, training, and censorship for repeated offenders, preventing those who speak a colorful xenophobic language from advancement. Groups that specialize in the needs of police officers such as the National Association of Muslim Police and the National Black Police Association continue to provide an outside source of monitoring and mentorship. Key to attracting these individuals is the eagerness to actively recruit within minority communities. Within each force, autonomy is given to find what exactly works. Initiatives focusing on community values seem to have a positive effect on recruitment. Bilingual candidates are given extra consideration due to their value of the multiple

¹⁵⁹ UK Home Office, Assessment, 1.

languages they speak. Mentorship programs are also highly suggested to help minority officers learn the challenges within a community. The UK's additional efforts to correct the problems of the past, combined with ardent government efforts, has made the UK's active recruitment of minorities within the police force to serve as an example to other European countries. The biggest difference in its police force is that UK, compared to France and Germany, monitors all its officers under ethnic or race category. This practice allows for close scrutiny by outsiders who can analyze statistics collected by the federal government and make recommendations if the numbers fail to show balance. It is a program that France and Germany may want to adopt in order to gauge the exact level of diversity within its forces.

V. CONCLUSION

A. ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After analyzing France, Germany, and the UK, and looking at historical immigration patterns, categories of immigrants, types of immigration control, levels of education attainment, integration of immigrant in the labor market, and finally taking a look at the police forces, various patterns emerge. Looking at the comparative data, the UK led all three in immigrant employment and educational attainment. The clear statistical leader in labor market integration is the United Kingdom, when measuring labor market integration by employment of immigrants and educational attainment. Probably the most important factors in the UK's ability to integrate immigrants in the labor market are its historical exposure to immigration, language acquisition, and its extremely narrow immigration policy. These three factors have helped the UK manipulate its position in labor market integration, despite historical problems with racism. The data also suggests that discrimination in the labor market is based on a domino effect beginning with language and culture. Two paths emerge from this point. Path A begins with a core understanding of the host nation culture through language saturation. Familiarity enables students to accept what it means to be English, French, or German. If a child chooses to take the path that leads to integration, a clearer path to success in the labor market emerges. Path B is the complete opposite of Path A. It is solely based on intolerance and personal choices. It is reinforced through the parents, or by lack of parental guidance and control, and leads to limited opportunities.

UK immigrants tend to adopt similar labor patterns to their native counterparts with different degrees of generational success. In Germany, the government never approached the issue of immigration as a permanent solution because the government never had any intent to make their stay permanent. On average, the German immigrant is less educated and has less language proficiency compared to the UK immigrant. France is the least tolerant of immigrants when it comes to governmental policy, in fact, due to its strict belief in a liberal secular state, it doesn't recognize any form of ethnicity or

religion, making integration policy very difficult to come by. Experts in immigration have asked the French government to conduct an informal census in order to have a better understanding on just how endemic the problem of immigrant neglect is. In the UK, immigrants from former colonies felt a “British heritage” as opposed to German immigrants who have no ties to being German, which have led to a struggle on how “to define citizenship, which has traditionally (been) based on German Heritage.”¹⁶⁰ Both nations face a skills shortage and have a genuine need for immigration. For Germany, a past liberal immigration policy has led to an adequate work force, but by the year 2050, Germany will need to increase its immigration from current levels of 100k a year to well over 200k a year just to sustain the needs of the labor market. As for the UK, “the United Nations Populations Division calculates that to compensate for a declining birth rate and cope with the pension crisis spawned by longer life expectancy...Britain will immediately need annual immigration of around 1 million.”¹⁶¹ Although not addressed with the German analysis, racism plays an important factor in the labor market. Racism is hard to prove, and no real study can address the true nature of resistance to a multicultural society by its native population, the facts are darker immigrants are at the very end of the spectrum in terms of employment. Germany and the UK have not addressed the issue of forced representation in the schools and in the labor market. Possibly, Europe should consider adopting an affirmative action program in which qualified immigrant and immigrant decedent applicants are given preferred treatment. Diversity in the work force will only make each country more versatile and allow for quicker integration of migrants. And at the same time, immigrants must make an effort to learn the host nation’s language, respect the host nation’s culture, and take every opportunity to not limit themselves to their own culture. Both the host nation and the immigrant should undertake a transformation towards mutual respect and acceptance.

¹⁶⁰ Jackson Janes and Stephen Szabo, “Angela Merkel’s Germany,” *Current History* (March 2007): 109–110.

¹⁶¹ Roger Boynes and Dorte Huneke, *Is it Easier to be a Turk in Berlin or a Pakistani in Bradford* (Berlin: Anglo-German Foundation, 2004), 3.

The comparative analysis between France, Germany and the UK in the labor market integration is heavily dependent on language proficiency and subsequently dependent on historical immigration policy. Statistically, UK immigrants are better integrated in the labor market compared to their German counterparts due to their acquisition of the native language before entering the labor market. There are many reasons why this has happened but most evidence presented suggest the UK has attracted a higher educated immigrant who has the required knowledge skill to succeed in the labor market. The importance of these findings reflects Germany's decision to revamp its integration policy forcing immigrants to learn the German language. This move can only have positive results and is a solid decision on Germany's behalf in order to reduce inequity within the labor market. Both Germany and the UK have determined language as being a paramount facilitator to successful entry into the labor market. France's uneven immigrant integration and upwards mobility into higher strata of French society, disenfranchised darker skinned immigrants may gravitate to criminal activity, violent protest, or extremist factional organizations that thrive on recruiting the less fortunate. A lack of economic integration, coupled with the growing appeal of extremist ideologies, could lead to a heightened terrorist threat within Europe. Extremist organizations can easily recruit disenfranchised Muslims, especially if they have the perception that Muslims are not treated with equal respect and tolerance. Additionally, failure to integrate immigrants into the European community could lead to a world perception that European nations are inherently racist. Consensus and directives cover discrimination within EU law under Article 18 and 19 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU.) These laws were established to ensure discriminatory practices were abridged to a point of irrelevance.

At the same time, immigrants who desire to better themselves and provide for a better life for their children need to do more to be a part of the community. A survey conducted in 2009 asked two questions directed at Muslim immigrants, identifying correlations between labor market and integration: "Do you see yourself as (British, French, German...) and do most other people in this country see you as (British, French, German...)? The results were that 49 percent of Muslims believed they were (British,

French, German...) while 71 percent of non-Muslims believed they were. But when asked about the perception of others and how they were viewed, 24.5 percent of Muslims believed others saw them as nationals while 74.8 percent of non-Muslims believed others identified with them being a national. Of the total respondents who participated in the survey, 47 percent of the total group was born outside the EU, while 53 percent were born inside the EU. 50.5 percent were Muslims 49.5 percent were non-Muslim.¹⁶² More importantly, the two cities from the UK, London at 72 percent and Leicester at 82 percent had the highest rate of those who saw themselves as nationals. France had an intermediate rate with their cities of Marseilles at 58 percent and Paris at 41 percent. The country that fared the worst of the three was Germany, their cities of Hamburg at 22 percent and Berlin at 25 percent.¹⁶³ Another stunning fact was that only 35 percent of German Muslims felt they were German while over 97 percent of UK Muslims felt they were English.¹⁶⁴ The answer follows the same analysis of this paper: integration is highly dependent on ideals, although a majority see themselves as nationals, they believe others don't.¹⁶⁵

		Muslim	Non-Muslim	Total
Yes		49.0%	77.1%	63.0%
No		51.0%	22.9%	37.0%
Total	Per cent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Count	1105	1087	2192

Source: Open Society Institute data

Table 7. Representing respondents' answers when asked, "Do you see yourself as British, French, German...? (At Home in Europe, Muslims in Europe, 73)

¹⁶² At Home in Europe, *Muslims in Europe: A Report on 11 EU Cities* (New York: Open Society Institute 2009) 34.

¹⁶³ At Home in Europe, Muslims, 74.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 76–77.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 73.

	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Total
Yes	24.5%	74.8%	49.5%
No	75.5%	25.2%	50.5%
Total	Per cent	100.0%	100.0%
	Count	1101	1084
			2185

Source: Open Society Institute data

Table 8. Table representing respondents' answers when asked, "Do other people in this country see you as British, French, German...? (At Home in Europe, Muslims in Europe, 73)

Another correlation to the data is, respondent with higher levels of education attainment have more of inclination to identify with the host nations national identity, a difference of 30.8 percent with no formal education to 54.1 percent who have a university degree. Not surprisingly to this parallel in the labor market in which education is closely linked to success. The data would then seem to suggest that, if an individual were able to overcome cultural differences, racism, language barrier, and accepts norms and values of the host nation, he is more likely to be successful in the labor market. Also important is the additional examination of the police to demonstrate what happens when programs that targets qualified applicants of ethnic diversity are accepted and included into the society. Racism will always exist in a given society, whether it is color or culturally motivated. What is important is the enforcement of rules that grant equality no matter what color or any other differences one has. It is a painful process; one that a state must examine closely and continually monitor in the event natural tendencies over intolerance to something different starts to emerge with in given sector. If immigrants fail to succeed in a state and fail to achieve generational upwards mobility, then it is the state's responsibility and within its claimed legitimacy as a state, to devise solutions and fix these inherent problems that emerge when cultures join together. The dominant host nation must help these immigrants integrate first; assimilation will follow, painfully and at times unbearably slow. That painful process may become unpopular with the dominant society, but if progress is made, then the pain is worth the gain. The

government can accomplish this by ensuring everyone has a fair and balanced educational opportunity. Other programs that stress community involvement can enhance the learning environment; ethnically proportionally police departments can actively engage the populace and become a part of the community. Teachers must receive the necessary resources to help these students overcome barriers that may arise due cultural barriers, lack of language knowledge, or just plain racism. Population centric measures help overcome social and economic exclusion within an ethnically diverse community. Once these students can competitively equal natives in test scores, their entrance into the labor market can be aided through active recruitment of minority candidates, a sort of fringe affirmative action plan. Test scores can be given a boost through knowledge of a second language enabling bilingual immigrants to compete with other applicants that may have had more educational and social resources in human capital as student growing up. Other programs that sets up preferred hiring practices, until state mandated goals are met, can help excel the integration process. Although minority police hiring has improved dramatically in the past 20 years, especially in the UK, improvements must be made in all three states. Police officers must also find ways to enhance their ability to communicate within a community. These programs can adopt a way to recognize native speakers through a mentorship program; not only for his or her ability to understand the social and cultural difference, but also to serve as an example of what education and staying the course can result in. If these programs don't work then direct state intervention through allotments of educational positions followed through civil service positions is the only way to overcome years of intolerance and discriminatory practices that develop over years of state neglect. A democratic state's legitimacy is highly dependent on affording equal opportunity to all its citizens...even its immigrant population. A state has the right to adopt restrictive immigration policy and select its immigrants dependent on labor force needs. It's the immigrant who made it to the country before these policies emplaced fall victim to state sponsored or tacitly sanctioned exclusion. In Europe, immigrants have become the scapegoat for poverty conditions. In a poll conducted by the European Commission, 20 percent of all respondents believe immigration is the cause for

poverty.¹⁶⁶ The country that has had the most successful immigrants is the same country that had the largest amount of respondents who believed one of the main factors for poverty is immigration; the UK had a rate of 39 percent.¹⁶⁷

	The implementation of wrong or badly suited policies	Insufficient economic growth	Pursuit of profit	The global financial system	Immigration	The inadequacy of the (NATIONAL) social protection system	Globalisation	Other (SPONTANEOUS)	None (SPONTANEOUS)	DK
EU27	35%	32%	29%	23%	20%	19%	16%	2%	1%	4%
BE	30%	26%	37%	27%	27%	11%	23%	2%	1%	1%
BG	47%	56%	17%	27%	1%	25%	6%	1%	0%	4%
CZ	41%	48%	23%	13%	20%	25%	10%	0%	0%	1%
DK	42%	18%	22%	20%	26%	33%	18%	2%	2%	2%
DE	37%	25%	35%	28%	16%	19%	23%	2%	1%	2%
EE	40%	45%	26%	15%	5%	30%	7%	2%	1%	4%
IE	38%	36%	26%	21%	16%	18%	11%	3%	0%	7%
EL	40%	34%	29%	23%	9%	23%	27%	1%	0%	0%
ES	30%	40%	20%	19%	24%	8%	18%	5%	0%	5%
FR	30%	23%	50%	33%	19%	6%	29%	0%	0%	1%
IT	29%	42%	20%	22%	23%	21%	14%	1%	1%	3%
CY	26%	22%	28%	28%	30%	26%	28%	2%	0%	1%
LV	66%	41%	18%	15%	5%	25%	4%	2%	0%	0%
LT	49%	49%	14%	20%	5%	33%	4%	2%	0%	3%
LU	21%	19%	48%	24%	17%	8%	35%	3%	1%	3%
HU	43%	55%	25%	21%	4%	16%	12%	2%	0%	2%
MT	34%	41%	13%	27%	18%	18%	16%	2%	0%	4%
NL	35%	24%	34%	36%	20%	16%	9%	2%	1%	3%
AT	29%	25%	30%	30%	30%	17%	25%	1%	1%	1%
PL	40%	27%	19%	6%	9%	43%	4%	2%	1%	9%
PT	32%	39%	17%	17%	6%	19%	14%	5%	1%	7%
RO	36%	50%	29%	13%	3%	23%	11%	2%	1%	6%
SI	33%	27%	56%	18%	9%	17%	20%	3%	0%	1%
SK	37%	41%	34%	19%	7%	36%	8%	1%	0%	0%
FI	41%	23%	47%	14%	16%	23%	15%	1%	0%	1%
SE	41%	30%	31%	26%	19%	29%	7%	1%	1%	1%
UK	34%	25%	22%	27%	39%	16%	8%	3%	1%	5%

Table 9. Table representing a poll asking “What are two biggest factors in poverty?” (Eurobarometer, 57)

The same poll discovered that Europeans attribute a lack of education and the necessary skills or training for individual poverty.¹⁶⁸ When asked if you had to prioritize who should have social assistance, immigrants were the last of the largest groups to be considered at a rate of 14 percent of respondents.

¹⁶⁶ Eurobarometer, *Report: Poverty and Social Exclusion* (Brussels: TNS Opinion and Social, January 2010): 55.

¹⁶⁷ Eurobarometer, Poverty, 57.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.

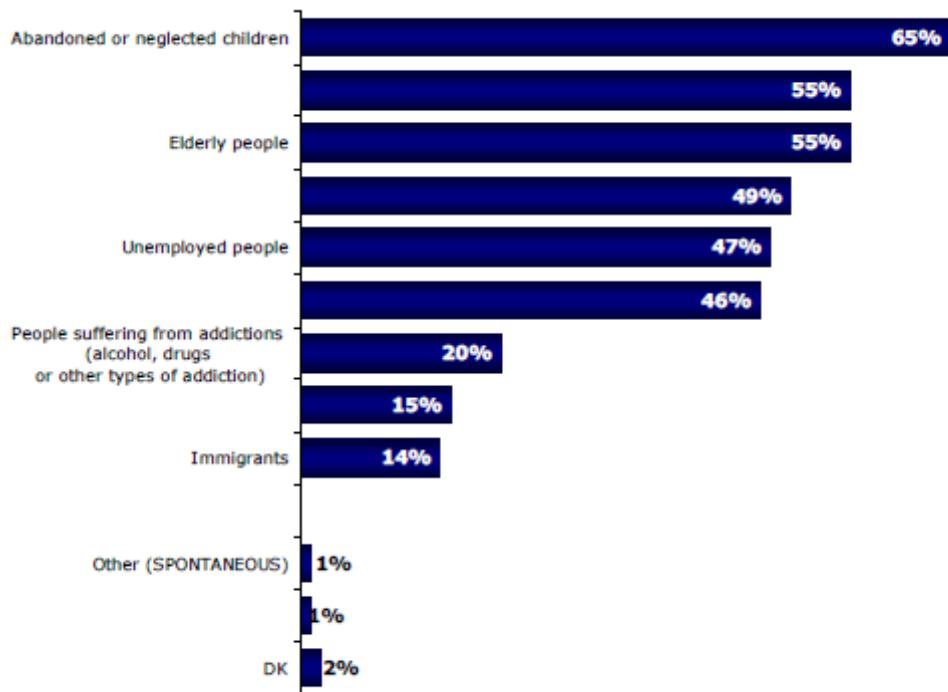


Table 10. Table representing a poll asking what priority should social assistance should go to (Eurobarometer, Poverty, 100.)

Final analysis of these statistics reveal the Europeans are aware that immigrants generally suffer from poverty at greater levels than natives, however, their sympathy at best, is ambivalent. Although these statistics do not prove that racism exists in these countries, it does suggest that Europe has reached a saturation point in its welcoming of certain types of immigrants. With tighter restriction on immigration becoming the status quo, Europe faces a potential worldwide perception that it is inherently racist and equality is only provided for the selected few. Another topic not discussed is the issue of declining European birth rates and the effect it will have on its economies. Projected birth rates in most European countries continue on a downwards trend, making immigration the easiest and viable solution to solve a depleted population. The other alternative would be to establish more social welfare programs that encourage working age women to temporarily leave the workforce in order to give birth. France is a perfect example of how generous programs and cultural norms have increased the population

with limited immigration. Despite a general European need for immigration, intolerant behavior and exclusion will continue to persist. What should happen now? A plausible course of action is to come up with a unified policy ensuring that each state take careful responsibility to ensure that immigrants are afforded the same opportunities under the principles of equality and protection set out by the European Union. Failure to recognize the problem of immigration will only create more problems in the future, preventing Europe from realizing its potential.

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